

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

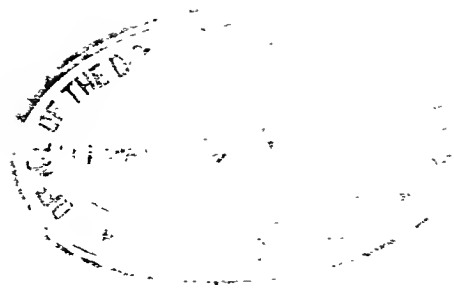
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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register



VOLUME V: 1919-1920.

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EDITED BY

J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), & JOHN M. SENAVERATNA.

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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME V.

1919-1920.

ARTICLES.

	PAGE
I The Portraits and Coats-of-Arms of Governors of Ceylon at Queen's House. <i>By the Hon. Robert Trefusis</i>	1
II Adam's Peak. <i>By S. G. P.</i>	6
III Relics of the Portuguese Rule in Jaffna. <i>By S. Sabaratna Mudaliyar, with Notes by J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)</i>	12
IV Do the Sinhalese Drink Milk? <i>By Herbert White, C.C.S. (Retired) with a " Note " by John M. Senaveratna</i>	16
V Critical notes on the "Epigraphia Zeylanica" (Continued). <i>By H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (Retired)</i>	20
VI The Jesuits in Ceylon in the 16th and 17th centuries (Continued). <i>By Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J.</i>	31
VII The Military Establishment in the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1798-1805. <i>By L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.</i>	59
VIII Portuguese in Tamil. <i>By Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.</i>	70
IX Names of the Portuguese Forts on Jaffna Islands. <i>By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).</i>	78
X The Jesuits in Ceylon in the 16th and 17th Centuries (Continued). <i>By Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J.</i>	81
XI Some Sinhalese Customs and Folklore—Omens and Prognostications. <i>By Wilmot P. Wijetunga</i>	88
XII The Language of the Rodiyas of Ceylon. <i>By Wilhelm Geiger. Translated from the German by C. H. Collins, B. A., C.C.S.</i>	103
XIII The Early History of Botanic Gardens in Ceylon, with notes on the Topo- graphy of Colombo. <i>By T. Petch</i>	119

	PAGE
XIV The Jesuits in Ceylon in the 16th and 17th Centuries. (<i>Continued</i>). By Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J.	125
XV The Largest Dageba at Tissamaharáma. By P. D. Ratnatunga	138
XVI French Expeditions against Trincomalie, A.D. 1761. By S. G. P... .. .	141
XVII Mulleriyávė-veva. By G. E. Weerakoon, Mudaliyar	148
XVIII More about Major Davie. By Miss Violet M. Methley, F. R. Hist. S., and by J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	165
XIX The Forgotten Coinage of the Kings of Jaffna. By [Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.	175
XX French Expeditions against Trincomalie (<i>Concluded</i>). By S. G. P.	180
XXI Religious Establishments in the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1798-1805. By L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.	196
XXII The Jesuits in Ceylon in the 16th and 17th Centuries. (<i>Continued</i>). By Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J.	196

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. The Barnes Buddha. By D. P. E. Hettiaratchi	42
2. The San Pedro Round Tower in Mannar Island. By Samuel Haughton, C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	44
3. Another Note on Morowa Kórale. By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G. C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	45
4. King Rájádhi Rája Sinha. By Robert J. Pereira	46
5. Early British Times in Ceylon. By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	47
6. Hippolyte Silvaf. By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	91
7. Sex in Offspring—The Pumsavana Ceremony. By John M. Senaveratna	91
8. Ruins at Ussaippukallu. By B. G. de Glanville, C.C.S.	93
9. Old Dutch Custom at Batticaloa. By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	93
10. A Note on "Adukku." By T. B. P. Kehelpannala.	94
11. Ceylon According to Du Jarric. By Lieut.-Gen. F. H. Tyrrell	152
12. Do the Sinhalese Drink Milk? By C. Batuvantudave	152
13. Early British Times. By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	153
14. Ceylon Folklore, Customs, etc. By E. S. Thomas	154
15. Dutch Tobacco Boxes. By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	155
16. Some Sinhalese "Superstitions." By John M. Senaveratna	155
17. The Sampéturu Round Tower. By John Scott, B.A., C.C.S.	202
18. Scene of the Capture of the last King of Kandy. By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)	202
19. Topasses. By L. E. Blazé, B.A.	204

The Ceylon Antiquary

and

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July, 1919.

Part I.

THE PORTRAITS AND COATS-OF-ARMS OF GOVERNORS OF CEYLON AT QUEEN'S HOUSE.

By THE HON. ROBERT TREFUSIS.

I have been asked by the Editor of the *Ceylon Antiquary* to give some account of the collection of portraits of Governors of Ceylon, and their coats-of-arms, which is being formed at Queen's House. I am very glad to comply with this request, so far as I am at present able, but, the collection being still incomplete, this paper can only be in the nature of a preliminary notice. It is hoped that it will be possible eventually to publish a descriptive catalogue.

In 1910 Governor Sir Henry McCallum obtained permission from the Secretary of State to form a collection of portraits of Portuguese, Dutch, and British Governors of Ceylon. His proposal was doubtless the outcome of the offer, in 1908, by Dr. Hendricks Muller of Holland to have copied such pictures of Dutch Governors as were to be found in that country.

Exhaustive enquiries on the part of Dr. Muller failed to bring to light more than eight portraits of all kinds, which were copied by the Royal School of Painters at Amsterdam under the supervision of the Chief Director, Professor Der Kinderen. They were completed in 1912 and now hang in the Executive Council at Queen's House.

The following is a list of the Governors represented :—

DUTCH GOVERNORS.

1. **Willem Jacobszoon Coster.** 1640.
An enlargement from an engraving in *Baldeus* shewing him in command at the bombardment of Galle.
A fancy portrait.
2. **Joan Maatzuyker.** 1646.
From an original in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

3. **Rijklof van Goens.** senr. and junr.

From a family group in the Haarlem Museum. Unfortunately this is an entirely spurious portrait, as has been conclusively proved by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, van Goens never having had such a family as is here depicted. This is the more to be regretted, as, at the time the copy was made, there was extant a portrait by Bartholomeus van der Helst which has since been destroyed by fire. A lithograph of it is, I believe, in existence, and I am of opinion that means should be found to enable a picture to be made from this lithograph. Although it would be but a "fancy" portrait in a sense, yet the association of perhaps the most distinguished Dutch Governor of Ceylon with one of the best known Dutch portrait painters would make it the most interesting picture in the series.

4. **Stephanus Versluijs.** 1729.

From an original in the possession of Jonkheer A. van Reygersburg Versluys, Middleburg.

5. **Jacob Christiaan Pielaat.** 1732.

From a miniature on porcelain in the possession of Mr. J. C. Vogel, Holland.

6. **G. W. Baron von Imhoff.** 1736.

From an original at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

7. **Iman Willem Falck.** 1765.

An imaginary portrait based upon a water-colour painting of the reception by Falck of the Kandyan Embassy. Original in the Rijksmuseum.

8. **Joan Gerard van Anglebeek.**

From an original pastel in the possession of Mr. van der Werff, Amsterdam.

It is much to be feared that this collection will never be enlarged. Dr. Muller took the greatest trouble in endeavouring to trace portraits of Dutch Governors in Holland, and it may be taken as reasonably certain that we have copies of all the known portraits in that country. But there may by chance be one or two in Batavia, and it is possible that this notice will bring forth information that will lead to further discoveries. If so, I will do all I can to get the many gaps in this section of our portrait gallery filled up.

That we have, actually and in prospect, portraits of all British Governors from the time of Mr. North is due to the zeal of the Hon. Mr. R. E. Stubbs, C.M.G., in discovering and communicating with the descendants of our bygone rulers, with the view of obtaining permission to copy such pictures as were in their possession. His researches have had the happiest results, and if all goes well our collection will be complete by 1922. If enquiries had been delayed for even a few years longer there is little doubt but that it would have been almost impossible to trace pictures of some of the earlier Governors.

The following now hang in the Ball-room at Queen's House :—

BRITISH GOVERNORS.1. **The Hon. Frederick North.** 1798.

Copied by Mr. Dorofield Hardy from a picture in the possession of Lord North.

2. **Lt.-Genl. the Rt. Hon. Sir Thos. Maitland,** G.C.B. 1805.

Copied by a Maltese artist from an original in the Palace at Valletta, Malta.

3. **Lt.-Genl. Sir Robert Brownrigg, Bart.** 1812.

Copied by Mr. John Cooke from an original by Sir Thos. Lawrence in the possession of Sir Douglas Brownrigg, Bart.

4. **Lt.-Genl. The Hon. Sir Edward Paget, K.C.B.** 1822.

Copied by Mr. Dorofield Hardy from an original by Sir Thos. Lawrence in the possession of the Marquis of Anglesey at Beau Desert.

5. **Lt.-Genl. Sir Edward Barnes, K.C.B.** 1824.

Original by John Wood (1801-1870). Purchased in 1911 from the United Services Library, Kandy.

6. **Viscount Torrington.** 1847.

Copied by Mr. D. Hardy from a miniature in the possession of Viscount Torrington.

7. **Sir Henry Ward, K.C.M.G.**

Copied by Mr. Hardy from a coloured daguerrotype in the possession of Miss J. M. Ward.

8. **Sir Charles MacCarthy, Kt.**
Original painted in Dresden about 1838, presented by the Marquis of Crewe.
9. **Sir Hercules Robinson, K.C.M.G.**
Copied by Mr. Hardy from a portrait by Baldry in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Durant.
10. **Rt. Hon. Sir William Gregory, K.C.M.G.**
Original by Sir Arthur Clay. Purchased from Lady Gregory.
11. **The Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon, G.C.M.G.**
Copied by Mr. Hardy from an original by F. O. Salisbury in the possession of the Hon. Nevil Gordon.
12. **Sir Arthur Havelock, G.C.M.G.**
Copied at the School of Arts, Madras, from an original by Ravi Varna and C. Raja Raja Varma in the Government House, Madras.
13. **Sir Henry Blake, G.C.M.G.**
Crayon enlargement by Mr. A. C. Beling from a photograph.
14. **Sir Henry McCallum, G.C.M.G.**
Oil-painting by Messrs. Plâté, from a photograph.
15. **Sir Robert Chalmers, G.C.B.**
Original painting by R. Jack.

Of the Portuguese Governors-General we have no portraits.

In 1911 Dr. Paul Pieris, C.C.S., reported the existence in Goa of pictures of some of these Governors, but the photographs which were procured through the Governor-General of Portuguese India disclosed the fact that they were obviously "fancy" portraits, most likely executed by native artists. The proposal to have them copied was therefore abandoned.

COATS-OF-ARMS OF GOVERNORS OF CEYLON.

This collection, too, was started owing to the generosity of a Dutch gentleman, Mr. J. J. Verbrugge of The Hague, who presented to the Government of Ceylon 21 painted wooden panels, all, except one, representing the armorial bearings of Dutch Governors of the Island. It became possible to add to this collection through the kindness of Mr. R. G.

Anthonisz who presented drawings of eight more shields, from which copies in the same style as those from The Hague were painted on wood in the Surveyor-General's Office. We, therefore, possess coats of 28 out of 31 Dutch Governors, and they hang upstairs in Queen's House. The three Governors unrepresented are :—

Jan Thysz (Payaart) 1640.
Jacob Hustaart 1663.
Cornelis Simonsz 1703.

Since the arms of these three have eluded the learned researches of Mr. Anthonisz I have little hope of their ever being ascertained, but any information which might lead to their discovery would be very welcome.

Our coats of (i) **Gerrit de Heer** (ii) **Johannes Hertenberg** (iii) **Diderik van Domburg** are incorrect. The last can be amended from Mr. J. P. Lewis' *Tombstones and Monuments*, and so could the two others if it were possible to ascertain the proper tinctures; but since these are not given in the *Armorial General* I fear the quest is hopeless. The crest is missing in the case of **Joan Gideon Loten**, but should be recoverable.

The acquisition of these panels suggested to Mr. Stubbs the notion of supplementing them with the coats of Portuguese and British Governors. The Portuguese authorities at Goa were accordingly communicated with and asked to supply a description of the coats-of-arms depicted in the portraits of the Portuguese Governors-General of Ceylon. Five copies of coats were submitted, namely, those of **Jerome de Azevedo**, **Felipe de Mascarenhas**, **Manuel Mascarenhas Homem**, **de Mello de Castro**, and **A. de Souza Coutinho**, and, although obviously incorrect, were copied onto wooden panels at the Surveyor-General's Office.

Meanwhile H. M. Ambassador at Lisbon had been communicated with with a view to procuring the arms of the rest of the Portuguese Governors-General and in due course they

arrived, very well painted in water-colour upon cardboard, with the blazons in Portuguese; they have not yet been copied on wood, but will be when opportunity allows. It is a pity that Lisbon was not also requested to verify the five Goanese coats, since they are clearly as remote from the truth as the portraits of those who bore them, but I hope it may be possible later on to obtain the correct versions.

These coats are probably sufficiently unfamiliar to be worth blazoning in full. They are:—

1. **Pedro Lopes de Souza.**

Quarterly. 1st and 4th the Royal Arms of Portugal (arg., on five escutcheons in cross azure, as many bezants¹ in saltire all within a bordure gu. charged with eight² castles or) "com filete negro em comtrabanda,"³ 2nd and 3rd gu., four crescents conjoined at the tips arg.⁴ Crest. A castle or.

2. **Jerome de Azevedo.** (From Goa). Incorrect
Or, an eagle? displayed arg., crowned or. Crest. An eagle? as in the arms

3. **F. de Menezes.**

Or, a ring of the field fimbriated gu. Crest. A demi-maiden supporting in her dexter hand a shield bearing the arms.

4. **M. Mascarenhas Homem.**

Az., six crescents or in pale, three and three. Crest. A lion rampant az., armed and langued or, holding a halberd shafted or.

5. **Nuno Alvares Pereira.**

Gu., a cross flory entrailed arg. Crest. Between two wings or a cross flory entrailed gu.

6. **Constantinoe Sad.**

Chequy, arg. and az. Crest. A demi-buffalo salient, chequy arg. and sa., unguled and ringed or.

7. **Jorge de Albuquerque.**

Quarterly. 1st and 4th the Royal Arms of Portugal as in No. 1. 2nd and third, gu. five fleurs-de-lis in saltire or. Crest A wing sa. charged with fleurs-de-lis as in the arms.

8. **Jorge d'Almeida.**

Gu., a double cross or between six bezants, all within a bordure of the 2nd. Crest. An eagle displayed sa. charged with nine bezants.

9. **Diego de Mello.**

Gu., a double cross or between six plates, all within a bordure of the 2nd. Crest. An eagle displayed sa. charged with nine plates.

10. **Antonio Mascarenhas.**

Gu., three bars or. Crest. A lion salient gu., armed and langued or.

11. **Felipe Mascarenhas.** (From Goa.)

Incorrect. Should be the same as 10.

12. **Manuel Mascarenhas Homem.** 1652.
(From Goa.)

Incorrect. Should be the same as 4.?

13. **F. de Mello e Castro.**

Per pale, de Mello (see No. 9) and Castro. Arg. six hurts in pale three and three. Crest as in No. 9.

14. **A de Souza de Coutinho.** (From Goa and hopelessly incorrect).

Quarterly. 1st and 4th or, five pomeys in saltire. 2nd vert. 3rd vert. five plates in saltire all within a bordure gules charged with a castle or in chief. Crest. None.

N. B. This is clearly nothing else but an ignorant attempt at the Royal Arms of Portugal as in de Souza's coat. (No. 1).

15. **Amaral e Menezes.**

Arg. six crescents inverted az., in pale three and three. Crest. A lion rampant or holding a mace az. spiked arg.

1. Here plates. 2. Here seven. 3. This is represented as a thin black line drawn from sinister to dexter in the fine-cutcheon, and presumably corresponds to our baton. 4. Perhaps a quatrefoil voided arg.

We have therefore a complete, though in one or two cases incorrect, series of Portuguese coats ; and if I can obtain the authentic versions of **de Azevedo** and **de Souza Coutinho** without having to resort to Lisbon again I shall be satisfied that the collection is as perfect as it ever will be.

BRITISH GOVERNORS' COATS-OF-ARMS.

For our collection of the coats-of-arms of British Governors we have considerable, though not yet sufficient material, and nothing has so far been completed except the coat of **Sir Colin Campbell**. This was very beautifully illuminated at the Lyon College and was procured through the kindness of Mr. Neill Campbell of Nuwara Eliya. The following arms are known :—

North	... from the Peerage
Maitland	... " " "
Brownrigg	... " " "
Paget	... " " "
Sir C. Campbell	... " Lyon College
Torrington	... " the Peerage
Ward	... " Heralds' College
MacCarthy	... " " "
Robinson	... " the Peerage
Gordon	... " " "

Havelock ... from the Peerage
Blake ... " Sir H. Blake

The arms obtained from the Heralds' College were unfortunately sent without crests, but it will doubtless be possible to discover those borne by **MacCarthy** and **Ward** from their relatives. The Heralds' College was unable to trace the right to bear arms in the cases of **Barnes**, **Mackenzie**, **G. W. Anderson**, **Gregory**, and **Longden**. This, of course, does not mean that they did not use arms, nor even that they were not entitled to them ; many families bore arms before the College came into existence, and have therefore refused to register them. Enquiry from the descendants and relatives of these Governors will no doubt help us to complete the series, and arrangements are being made to ascertain the coats of former Governors who are still living.

The above, then, is as complete an account of the portraits and coats-of-arms of Governors of Ceylon as it is at present possible to give, and I hope that the publication of it may lead to some valuable information which may enable the many gaps in it to be filled up.



ADAM'S PEAK.

By S. G. P.

IN the course of an article on Adam's Peak in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids says among other things:

"It is a most remarkable, and probably unique, sight to see a group of pilgrims gazing solemnly at this depression, each one quite undisturbed in his faith by the knowledge that the pilgrim next to him holds a divergent view—the Buddhist thinking it to be the footprint of Buddha, the Saivite regarding it as the footprint of Siva, the Christian holding it to be the footprint of St. Thomas, or perhaps admitting the conflicting claims of the eunuch of the Queen of Candace, and the Muhamaden thinking he beholds the footprint of Adam."¹

An enthusiastic Orientalist, on the lookout for unique facts, might perhaps introduce a Christian pilgrim to Adam's Peak, but it is scarcely to be expected from a contributor to a sober historical work, still less from a writer of repute who has once been "a Magistrate in the adjoining district of Sitáwaka." Christians do, of course, visit the Peak; but to say that they go there in pilgrimage to the footprint of St. Thomas, or of his rival the Eunuch, is a gross violation of truth. It is true, nevertheless, that the learned Professor can point to several writers on Ceylon who said much the same; to some who said a good deal more. He is perhaps only repeating, in striking language, what Emerson Tennent had said before him. Tennent did not speak of Christian pilgrims, he spoke of "Portuguese authorities," but the transition was an easy one. Tennent wrote that the footprint on Adam's Peak "was said by the Brahamans to be the footstep of Siva, by the Buddhists, of Buddha, by the Chinese, of Foë, by the Gnostics, of Iëu."² by

the Mahometans, of Adam, whilst the Portuguese authorities were divided between the conflicting claims of St. Thomas, and the Eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia." (*Ceylon* II, 133).

Tennent does not refer us to "Robert Percival, Esq., of his Majesty's Nineteenth Regiment of Foot," though that writer had a good deal to say. In his *Account of the Island of Ceylon* (London, 1803), Percival wrote, without turning a hair: "The Roman Catholic priests have also taken advantage of the current superstitions to forward the propagation of their own tenets, and a chapel which they have erected on the mountain is yearly frequented by vast numbers of black Christians of the Portuguese and Malabar race" (p. 208). Percival had a very poor opinion of the Roman Catholic priests. They were worse than the Portuguese Government, for "the Portuguese Government was (however, still) weak enough to yield to the arguments of the priests, who maintained, that imposing the Christian religion by means of the Inquisition³, was the only sure method of securing their dominion" (*Ib.* p. 8). Perhaps Percival's story of a chapel on Adam's Peak is only a vague reminiscence of the French sailor's story. One of the sailors who took part in De La Haye's expedition to Trincomalee in 1672 wrote a *Relation ou journal d'un voyage aux Indes Orientales* (Paris, 1677), in the course of which he speaks of Adam's Peak which he saw from the east coast. "A mille pas delà," he says "il y a un tombeau . . . Les Noirs assurent que c'est le tombeau du premiere homme Adam" (p. 124), and even gives a facsimile of the epitaph,

1. Vol. I, p. 87.

2. For the value of this assertion see "*Ceylon, by an Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles*," 41, 13-14.

3. Tennent sought, but did not find, any trace of the inquisition in Ceylon. *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 26. He must have overlooked Percival.

"gravez à l'entour." "Aupres du tombeau que les Mores croyent celuy d'Adam, il y a un bon Hermite Portugais de l'Ordre de Saint Christophle, que le Roy de la terre a recommandé aux Noirs, qui le laissent vivre en liberté & luy fournissent ce dont il a besoin." (p. 125).

But even William Skeen took Percival seriously; for, though he rejects Percival's tale of a Roman Catholic Chapel on the Peak, as an error (for "there are no traces of such a chapel on the mountain at the present day, nor does it appear, upon inquiry, that there had been any such in former times"), he was not quite satisfied that the Roman Catholic priests did not make capital of current superstitions for their godless purpose, and proceeds to give a conjectural justification of Percival at the expense of the priests, in this strain. "Probably, when writing his work, he (Percival) had present to his recollection traditions of the old Roman Catholic church, which, in the time of the Portuguese, stood on the spot now occupied as the great Saman Déwale, about a couple of miles from Ratnapura, in which city there is still a body of Roman Catholics, and a small chapel where they assemble for worship."⁴

Another military man, Dr. John Davy of the Medical Staff of the army (in Ceylon from August, 1816, to February, 1820), spoke of Adam's Peak being "an object of veneration almost equally to the Buddhist and the Hindoo—to the Mahometan and the nominal Christian of India; each of whom considers it a sacred mountain, and has attached to it some superstitious tale."⁵ It was also repeated by "An Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles," in terms of which Rhys Davids' words seem an echo. "During the time of the annual pilgrimage in March, when hundreds of both sexes, including many Malabar Christians, clamber up the sides of the peak, the ceiling of the temple is hung with white cloths," etc.⁷ Lest these Malabar Christians be supposed to be only sight-seers,

he adds: "Notwithstanding the various religions professed by the crowd on these occasions, and the rival claims to the footprint there is no discord. All seems awed into peace and goodwill by the sublimity of the position and the grandeur of the scene around them. And well they might," etc.⁷

The most astounding writer of all is, I regret to say, a lady, who, in the course of her varied travels, spent "*Two Happy Years in Ceylon*," as the guest of the Bishop of Colombo (the Right Rev. H. W. Jermyn), and wrote a book. During that short time she gained such a wide experience⁸ of the "Roman Catholic Christians of Ceylon" as to be able to write:

"Even at the present day, the Roman Catholic Christians of Ceylon make pilgrimage to the footprint on Adam's Peak, as to that of St. Thomas, though some Portuguese writers attribute it to the eunuch of Candace. In Valentyn's account he says the mountain was *esteemed most sacred by the Catholics of India*, while Percival related that"⁹ [here follows the story of the chapel]. She has not heard that Percival's chapel had been pulled down by Skeen, and the statement which the fair writer recklessly attributes to Valentyn reads thus in the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. (Vol. VII, p. 51):—

"This mountain was *esteemed most sacred not only by the Sinhalese but also by all the Gentiles and heathen of India*, and even by many Mahometans as their chief sanctuary. On the top of this mountain stands a beautiful Pagoda, concerning which the Sinhalese have many traditions, and where they say Buddha, (whom he calls throughout "Buddhum") a disciple of the Apostle Thomas,¹⁰ dwelt. They say that he stood with one foot on this, and the other foot on a mountain near Tuticorin, and that he made so much water that thereby the Island of Ceylon was divided from the coast.

"From the same tradition they proceed to say of him that he was 26 cubits in stature. . . .

"Of the same kind and size footprints of Buddha are found here and there upon the

4. Skeen has omitted to give his authority for this information.

5. *Adam's Peak*, by William Skeen (London, 1870) pp. 54-5.

6. Davy, *Account of Ceylon* (London, 1821) p. 336.

7. *Ceylon, by an Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles* (London, 1876), II, 21-2.

8. C. F. Gordon Cumming. She was a much travelled lady, who described Fiji, Sandwich Isles, California, India, Hebrides, Egypt and China, in about as many books.

9. She was, moreover, gifted with a remarkably good eye sight and in the year of grace 1891 she actually saw with her own eyes, "in a Roman Catholic chapel" "an image of Buddha on one side and the Blessed Virgin on the other, receiving divided worship." *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, II, 46 and also 357.

10. *Ibid.* 313. Italics mine.

11. This passed from Valentyn to Philaethes.

rocks in Ceylon, and also whole figures hewn out, from which many of them hold firmly to this, that Buddha went up to heaven from this hill (Adam's Peak), taking this account from the *Ascension of Christ*, whereof they have obtained the tradition either through the St. Thomas Christians or through the Portuguese."

This gives us an idea of the accuracy of the fair writer.¹¹ It is neither from Valentyn, nor from the "Roman Catholic Christians of Ceylon," but from her own inner resources that her information was gained. For she writes:

"Knowing the policy which has led the Church of Rome in all heathen countries as far as possible to adapt Christian legends to all objects specially venerated by the people (thus sanctioning their continuance of a homage which could not be at once uprooted), we need not wonder to find Portuguese writers attributing these revered rock-marks to Christian Saints: " (p. 313).

Though even John Ferguson lent the weight of his authority to these statements,¹² it

is a relief to be able to say that many English writers, even those who thought and spoke fiercely of "Romish superstition," did not soil their hands with such stuff.¹³

What really provoked these writers is that they delighted to believe that "the Christians, or rather some of them" (the Roman Catholics, to wit) "delight to believe" that Adam's Peak "is stamped with the foot of St. Thomas."¹⁴ This is, at best, a half truth, ever the blackest, etc. Tennent exaggerated the fraction of truth contained in it when he said that the "Portuguese authorities were divided between the conflicting claims of St. Thomas, and the Eunuch of Candace." The solitary Portuguese writer,¹⁵ who is dignified into 'authorities' in a matter in which he expressed undisguised conjectures, is Diego De Couto. Castanheda,¹⁶ Correa,¹⁷ Sousa,¹⁸ Barbosa,¹⁹ De Sa y Mene-

11. About Valentyn's own blunders and the "interpolations" which he "fathers on Couto, see Ferguson's notes in the *Journal C. B. R. A. S.* 40, pp. 108 & seq.

12. "Adam's Peak Sacred alike to Buddhists, Hindus, Mohamedans, and even Roman Catholics. *Ceylon in the Jubilee Year*, p. 12.—Ceylonese writers generally speak of the footprint "worshipped by Hindus, Buddhists and Mohamedans." Cf. *Dharmapala*, M. Coomara Swamy, p. 91, note 7.

13. e. g. Knox, whose charming narrative of his travels in the East Indies (1744, Vol. I, p. 347); Cordier, *La Géographie*, p. 114; Forbes, Skinner, and others. I am not aware of any Buddhist writer—be it said to have been so often repeated that a contributor to the *Maha Boudhi Journal*, (May, 1917, p. 114) could write: "Some Christians believe the mark to be that of Saint Thomas, and some follow the Mohamedan and Jewish tradition and say it is Adam's." The Jewish tradition referred to is the one fathered on them by Tennent following Dulaurier, about which presently. It is only a writer like Alan Walters who could say that Christians "wrangle" over the footprint "with greater acerbity" than the Hindus, etc. *Palms and Pearls*, p. 116. "Voilà comment on écrit l'histoire" he says himself with unconscious irony.

14. *Ceylon Observer*, 2 October, 1869, quoted with approval by Skeen O. C. pp. 10-11.

15. Though Tennent uses the plural he refers the reader only to one Portuguese writer, nor is there any other to name. Tennent also refers to Maffei, who is not a Portuguese, nor did he write in Portugal or in Portuguese.

16. *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia* (Lisbon, 1833. Nova edição) Liv. II. cap. xxvi, pp. 76-7 "No meo desta ilha se leuãta hũa serra muy alta, & sobre ella hũa altissimo pico, em que está hũa tanque d'agua nãduel. E em hũa lagia que está junto dele está hũa pegada d'homẽ, que dizẽ os mouros que he denosso padre Adão, a que chamãõ Baba adão, & creẽ que d'elli subio aos ceos, & por sinal disso ficou ali aquela pegada. E junto d'esta lagia está hũa casinha como hermita em q'estão duã sepulturas, onde dizẽ q'fora sepultados os corpos de Adão & Eva."

17. *Collecção de Monumentos Inéditos. Lendas Da Índia*. Tom I, pp. 650-1 "Esta no meo desta ilha hum muy alto monte, em que está hum pico de peura tão alto, que sempre as nuvens andão abaxo delle, de que nunca se vêa ponta do pico, serão quando o tempo he muyto claro. Tem a gente da terra aeste pico em grande veneração por consa sancta, dizendo que sobre este pico pôs hum pé nosso padre Adão, como de feito em cyma esta em huma pedra huma figura de pegada de pé, que he de hum couado de comprido, e meo de largo, que elles dizem que Adão fez com seu pé. Em cyma faz muyta largura, tudo pedra viva sem quebradura alguma. Na mesma pedra está hum tanque laurado de muytos laoures, com excellente agoa de chumua. Sobem a este pico alguns romeiros jogues, que pedem polo amor de Deos, que sobem per humas cadeas de ferro que estão penduradas de acyma a abaxo, que fazem como escadas"

18. A Spanish writer who borrows largely from his predecessors. *Asia Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1703) I, 182.

"Revistense de alegres arboledas las serranias: sobre ellas soube por el ayre un monte espacio de siete leguas: y tiene en una planicie circular de 30 pa-sos de diametro, en cuyo centro brota una piedra con seys palmos de alto, conservando en su llama superficie la estampa de un pie humano que tendrá de longitud dos palmos. Vestigio es grandemente venerado, con la tradicion de ser s de un hõbre Santo natural del Deli, que por muchos años habitò esta montaña, persuadiendo a los mortales la adoracion de un solo Dios: y despues buuelto a su patria embio un diente suyo a los Reyes de la Isla, para que tuviessen por memoria: y le tienen por reliquia de que se fian en sus aprietos. Por esta presuncion, ô creencia concurren peregrinos desde mil leguas en romaria a aquella estacion en gran numero."

19. *Collecção de Noticias Para a Hist e Geog das Nações Ultramarinas* II. 351. "In the middle of this island is a very lofty mountain range, in which is a very high stone peak, and upon it a pool of spring water, and on this stone there is the form of a man's foot, which the Indians say is the footmark of father Adam, whom they call Adam Baba. And from all those parts and kingdoms the Moors come in pilgrimage saying that father Adam went up from there to heaven, etc." English Trans. by Stanley. "A Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar." Hakluyt.

zes,²⁰ Camoens,²¹ Ribeiro²² and many other writers. Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch²³ knew nought of these conflicting claims. Even De Couto said only this : ²⁴

" . . . Having taken much trouble to ascertain the truth " (concerning the footprint that is on the mountain which is called Adam's Peak), "and having visited many antiquities of India, it seems to us that *it might be that of the blessed Apostle St. Thomas* ; ²⁵ and likewise certain marks of knees that are impressed at the present day in a large stone that stands in the neighbourhood of the *Pedreira* at Colombo, which a vicar of that fortress told us he had noted well many times, and that they did not appear to him to have been made designedly, and this we say of other similar ones, which are to be found in the city of Maliapor, where that Apostle made his abode ; because although his legend does not state that he visited that island, *it is a thing that might have been*,²⁶ since a record has not been made of all the places that he visited, as I have already said, . . . " (*Journal C. B. R. A. S.* No. 60, p. 114-15).

Again, after relating what took place at the inquiry that was held in the city of Maliapor regarding the body of the holy Apostle, he proceeds : " All this is sufficient reason for proof of the conjecture that we made²⁷ as to the footprint on Adam's Peak, and the knee-marks at the *Pedreira* being those of the holy Apostle " (p. 116). And, finally he says " . . . this footprint on Adam's Peak, and the knee-marks of which we have spoken are miraculous " for the very good reason that " at that time there went to India no one who could do such miracles but this holy Apostle." ²⁸ (*Ib.*)

De Couto's conjectures found no support. De Sa merely states the fact that he so conjectured, and Ribeiro, writing a century later,

refers incidentally to the alleged visit of St. Thomas. Speaking of the "one whom (the Gentiles) reverence above all and whom they call Bodu," he says : " He was, say they, a great Deo who spent a very holy life in the island and they count their years which they call *Auruda* (beginning from the new moon in March) from the date of his stay. By calculating we find that this occurred forty years from the coming of the Redeemer and according to many conjectures they refer to the Apostle St. Thomas, who all assert lived in this island and passed thence to the coast of Choromandel where is still preserved a good deal of the Christianity which he established ; and this is confirmed by their statement that Bodu was not a native and that he did not die in the Island, but departed to the opposite coast. God knows what the truth of this may be : I can only state what their tradition is." (*Pieris' Ribeiro's 'Ceylao,'* p. 138-9.)

As regards the footprint which "is greatly revered by all the Gentiles of India, and many of them come on pilgrimage to see it and to fulfil their vows and promises," Ribeiro remained a sceptic. "What I think is that this footprint was some invention of the Gentiles, for it is certain that if it were that of a man he must necessarily have been a giant ; and the footprint was created to attract adoration to the spot." (*Ib.* 169.)

Thus St. Thomas owes his claim to De Couto, but De Couto's pleadings remained unheard. De Couto was never in Ceylon, Ribeiro, who lived long in Ceylon, had not even heard tell of the claim.

But a Jesuit writer had put in a prior claim on behalf of the Eunuch of Candace. This was Maffei. He had heard that on a high mountain in Ceylon was venerated the

20. *Journal C. B. R. A. S.* XI. 456-59. Diego de Couto presumes that the footprint might be that of the Apostle St. Thomas " . . . but de Sa does not believe it.

21. *Os Lusíadas* X 136. "Olha em Ceilão, que o monte se elevanta
Tanto, que as nuvens passa, ou a vista engana.
Os naturaes o tem por cousa santa,
Pela pedra onde esta a pégada humana."

See in Ceylon that Peak so stark, so gaunt,
shooting high o'er the clouds or mocking sight,
The native peoples hold it sacrosanct
for the famed Stone where print of foot is sight :

Burton's Transl.

22. *Fatalidade Hist. da Ilha de Ceylon.* Engl. Trans. Ribeiro's *Ceilão* by Mr P. E. Pieris.

23. See *Journal C. B. R. A. S.* xi. 247, 347.

24. The whole of Dec. V, vi. ch. is too long to be quoted here, treats of Adam's Peak and the various opinions regarding it. A most conscientious translation by D. W. Ferguson, *Journal C. B. R. A. S.* 60, pp. 108-117.

25. "nos parece que poderá ser do Bemaventurado Apóstolo S. Thomé *Decada de Couto.* Tom. II, Pt. ii, p. 17.

26. "cousa he que poderia ser." *Ib.* 18.

27. "Isto tudo he bastante razão para prova de conjectura que fazemos" *Ib.* 19.

28. "e as partes da India naquella tempo não passou quem pudesse fazer os tales milagres senão este Santo Apóstolo *Ib.* 20.

footprint of a great saint who had come from abroad to preach the true religion. The story of Buddha thus told in Christian language recalled to his mind something he had read in Dorotheus. That was a pitfall, and Maffei fell.

“(Ad hæc, vel in primis jucundo spectaculo sylvosi montes ad effigiem theatralem inflexi, vastam planitiem oblongo circuitu in caveæ formam includunt): quorum unus in arduam & subrectam altitudinem paene septem leucarum exsurgit; habetque in summo æquatam agrum planiciem, ex cuius medio bicubitale saxum eminens ad instar mensæ vestigium demonstrat impressum inclyti sanctitatis viri, quem ex Indiae regno Deli quondam in ea loca venisse tradunt, ut gentem superstitionibus deditam fabulosis, ad unius Dei cultum religionemque traduceret, ergo tantæ venerationis est locus, ut a leucis amplius mille, omnium ordinum peregrini, ac præsertim jogues, illuc pietatis causa contendunt ingenti labore: siquidem, præter cæteres itineris difficultates atque pericula, in ejus etiam montis cacumen, non nisi per adactos clavos ferreasque catenas ascensus est. Haud absimile vero videtur quod aiunt quidam, in eo, quod dixi, vestigio, quanquam extincta jam nominis antiqui & peregrini memoria, coli Eunuchum Candaces Aethiopum Reginae, quem cum aliis scriptores, tum vero Dorotheus Tyri episcopus (qui, Constantino magno imperante, et sanctitatis & doctrinæ laude percelluit) in Arabia Felice, totaq. Erythra, & in Taprobana, Christi evangelium promulgasse testatur.” (*Hist. Indic*, folio edition, 1588, f. 56.)

De Couto, who had read this passage, rejected it in favour of St. Thomas.

“Having read what Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, says (and it is related by Maffei in the third book of his *History of India*), that in this footprint on Adam's Peak is venerated the memory of the eunuch of Queen of Candace, who, he says, went about preaching the Gospel throughout the whole of the Red Sea, Arabia Felix, and Taprobana, we cannot discover whence that learned man could have inferred this, since it is not said in any writing that this eunuch left Abyssinia, of which he was a native. And we made diligent inquiry throughout India, and spoke with many ancient and learned Moors, heathen, and even Jews, and in no part of it is there any knowledge or tradition of this eunuch.” (*Journal C.B.R.A.S.* 60, p. 116.)

This ‘Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre,’ is an imaginary personage. Some writings were circulated under that name in the VIII century²⁹—some of them are given by Migne in his *Patrologia*,³⁰ but this passage is not there. There exists, however, another passage of an earlier writer, Sophronius of Jerusalem (A. D. 560-638), which is probably the source of the Byzantine fabrication. Sophronius wrote:—

“Eunuchus Candaces Aethiopum Reginae in Arabia cognomento felici, et in Taprobana insula maris Rubri prædicavit Evangelium Domini. Aiunt autem eum et ibidem martyrium pertulisse, et honore fuisse sepultum.”

It should be noticed that what Sophronius and ‘Dorotheus’ said has nothing whatever to do with Adam's Peak or the footprint. It was Maffei who linked the passage conjecturally with the Peak. And thus was born the Eunuch's claim.³¹ The discovery of Maffei was perpetuated by De Couto, Du Jarric,³² Baldeus,³³ Tennent, etc.; and subsequent writers took up the tale from one or other of them. In their desire to make up a good case they did not hesitate to manipulate the evidence. Compare, for instance, the passage of Maffei with what is attributed to him by Tennent, Dorotheus with what is ascribed to him by De Couto, Valentyn with De Couto, and Gordon Cumming with Valentyn.

Maffei conjectured that the footprint *might be* that of the Eunuch, De Couto brushed it aside because it *might perhaps be* that of St. Thomas. By a process well known in the migration of fable these conjectures became facts, and the conjecturers “authorities” for the conflicting claims, and the “Portuguese authorities” in their turn became “Roman Catholics,” till Percival built them a chapel, and led “vast numbers” of “black Christians” in “annual pilgrimage,” “and Rhys Davids saw a unique sight.” Thus is history written.

Rhys Davids also endorses Tennent's statement that the name Adam's Peak was

29. Catholic Encyclopædia, sub voce Tyre.

30. Vol. XCII.

31. Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. XXIII Col. 721.

32. Carey in his *Life of Philip the Deacon* bases the claims of the eunuch on Dorotheus, Sophronius and “the current traditions of the country” (Ceylon). Quoted by Hough, *Christianity in India* I, p. 32.

33. See *Ceylon Antiquary & Literary Register*.

34. Baldeus, *England Ceylon* Cap. XLVIII, p. 191.

given to the mountain by the Portuguese, though others with far better reason ascribe it to the Mahometans. Even if it were the Portuguese who gave it that name, it must be recognised that they did not invent it *toute pièce*. Adam had been legendarily connected with the Peak long before Ibn Batuta, and that was centuries before the Portuguese doubled the Cape. There is hardly a mediæval traveller who did not refer to the legend, Marco Polo, Friar Oderic, Marignolli, Jordanus, Di Conti, Nikkitin, Varthema, and a host of others have left it on record.³⁵ It was from the Mahometans that they heard it, and the Mahometan legend has been recorded by Soleyman (A.D. 851.)

"On remarque dans l'île (Serendyh) une montagne, appelée *Al-rohoun*, sur laquelle fut jeté Adam, sur lui soit la paix ! La trace de son pied est marquée sur le roc qui couronne la montagne, gravée dans la pierre, au sommet de la montagne. On n'y remarque qu'un seul pied ; il est dit qu'Adam plaça son autre pied dans la mer." (*Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*. M. Reinaud, Paris, 1845.I. pp. 5-6.)

The French translator says in a note (Vol. II, pp. 8-9, note 14.)

"Les musulmans croient qu'Adam, après son péché, fut jeté dans l'île de Ceylan, sur la montagne qui domine l'île ; c'est de là que cette montagne a été appelée *Pic d'Adam*. Les musulmans y vont en pèlerinage ; suivant Ibn Bathoutha, qui visita la montagne au xiv^e siècle de notre ère, et qui a donné à ce sujet des détails curieux ; ces pèlerinages commencent dans la première moitié du iv^e siècle de l'hégire, x^e de notre ère."

Ibn Batuta says : "This mountain of Serendib is one of the highest in the world ; we saw it from the sea at the distance of nine days. When we ascended it we saw the clouds passing between us and its foot. On it is a great number of trees, the leaves of which never fall. There are also flowers of various colours, with the red rose, about the size of the palm of the hand, upon the leaves of which they think they can read the name of God and of his Prophet. There are two roads on the mountain leading to the foot of (Adam) ; the one is known by 'the way of Baba,' the other 'the way of Mama,' by which they mean Adam

and Eve. The way called that of Mama is easy ; to it the travellers come upon their first visiting the place, but every one who has travelled only upon this, is considered as if he had not made the pilgrimage at all." (*The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, by Samuel Lee. London, 1829, p. 189.)

Tennent tried to show that the Mahometan tradition originated from a gnostic source by repeating the arguments given by Ed. Dulaurier in his review of Reinaud's work in the *Journal Asiatique*³⁶ (Aout-Sept. 1846, pp. 131-220.) It has been observed by "An Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles," that "the vagueness of this passage" (i. e. of the *Pistis Sophia*) "and the evident confusion of persons, is such that it requires a considerable stretch of the imagination to connect it with either Adam's Peak or his footprint" (II. p. 13.). Rhys Davids in his turn thus summarises Tennent's summary of Dulaurier's argument :

"Tennent's combination (ii, 135) is shortly as follows:—It is well known that the Muslims regard Adam in a peculiarly mystic way, not only as the greatest of all patriarchs and prophets, but as the first viceregent of God. This idea is neither Arabian nor Jewish ; but the Gnostics, with whom the early Muhamedans were in close contact, rank Adam as the third emanation of God, and assign him a singular pre-eminence as *Jeu*, the primal man. Now they also say, as recorded in the *Pistis Sophia* (Schwartz's translation, p. 221) that God appointed a certain spirit as guardian of his footprint ; and in *Philo Judæus*, in his pretended abstract of *Sanchoniathon*, there is also a reference to the footprint of *Bauth* (*Buddha* ?) visible in Ceylon. So far Sir Emerson Tennent ; and we will only say that now, when so much more is known of the *Pistis Sophia* and *Philo Judæus*, it is desirable that these curious coincidences should be examined by a competent scholar." (*Dict. of Rel. and Ethics*.)

One of the first discoveries of the competent scholar will be that neither Tennent (II, 135) nor even his master Ed. Dulaurier (*Journal Asiatique*, pp. 175-179) has said anything remotely resembling the passage which I give in italics. If he succeeds in discovering anything like it in *Philo Judæus*, I can only offer my congratulations in advance.

35. Fabricius, Skeen and 'An Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles,' give the various travellers' accounts. For the brief reference of the Russian Nikkitin, see Sir George Birdwood's 'Report on the old Records of the India office,' p. 143.

36. Dulaurier's views were afterwards adopted by Reinaud himself with a 'peut-être'—*Mémoire Geogr. Histor. Scientifique sur l'Inde*, (Paris, 1849) p. 201.

RELICS OF THE PORTUGUESE RULE IN JAFFNA.

By S. SABARATNA MUDALIYAR

WITH NOTES BY J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE Portuguese rule in Jaffna may be said to have lasted for about three-quarters of a century—A.D. 1593 to 1658. Although more than two and a half centuries have elapsed since it terminated, there exist even now several vestiges to indicate the influence which the Portuguese rule exercised over Jaffna.

In the first place, there are Portuguese descendants numbering over 200, mostly in the Jaffna Town. They are, however, much reduced in circumstances, most of them being employed as "mechanics," meaning shoemakers, watchmakers, tailors, etc. They may even be said to have lost their racial characteristics, as it is not possible to distinguish them from the natives of the place by their colour. They still speak Portuguese, or rather Indo-Portuguese, a *patois* which differs considerably from the language of their motherland.

We have again the Jaffna Fort which presents a magnificent view both by sea and land. The fort, as it stands now, is by the side of what is known as the Jaffna Lagoon; but there is a tradition that the Portuguese originally intended to build the Fort by the side of the open sea at Kankasanturai, which is a port about eleven miles to the North—and the foundation laid for the purpose of one of the walls remains there even today.¹ The original idea appears to have been given up for some reason or other, and the present Jaffna Fort was erected instead, it is said, with forced labour. There were no roads or

vehicular traffic in those days, and tradition has it, that the materials collected and stored at Kankasanturai for building the Fort there were removed to Jaffna wholly by manual labour—men having been posted, a yard apart, along the whole distance, and the stones having been passed from one to the other until Jaffna was reached one by one. It is said that the stronghold of the Tamil King at Nallūr was also demolished by the Portuguese and the materials thereof used in building the Jaffna Fort.

The next circumstance that reminds one of the Portuguese rule in Jaffna is the number of Hindu temples that were razed to the ground during that period. Most of the temples so demolished have since been rebuilt and these comparatively modern buildings therefore prove in a way monuments of the Portuguese rule. The following are among the important temples so re-built:—

1. The Kandasāmi Temple at Nallūr
2. The Kailasapillaiyār Temple at Nallūr
3. The Saddanāta Temple at Nallūr
4. The Viramākāliamman Temple at Nallūr
5. The Veyilukantapillaiyār Temple at Nallūr
6. The Kandasāmi Temple at Māvīḍḍapuram
7. The Sivan Temple at Kirimalai
8. The Varadarāsapperumāl Temple at Vallipúram

¹ See plan of Kankasanturai Fort—*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II Plate XII

As a fourth memento of the Portuguese occupation I may refer to several Christian names which were introduced during the Portuguese period and which have now been given a more or less Tamil form, and are largely used among the Roman Catholics.

The following are some of them :—

1. Vaitiámpillai from Sebastian
2. Susaipillai from Joseph
3. Antónipillai from Anthony
4. Manuelpillai from Emmanuel
5. Avurámpillai from Abraham
6. Yaccópillai from Jacob
7. Viséntippillai from Vincent
8. Péturupillai from Peter
9. Phillipiah from Philip
10. Anápillai or Anal from Anne
11. Matalanapillai from Magdalene
12. Marial from Mary

Another relic may be seen in the native dress :—

(a) The *chiluvai*—*talaippá* (cross turban) is the head-dress introduced during the Portuguese period. This is a turban tied round the head by men with a piece of cloth, a portion of which is tied in the shape of a cross at the back. This is now gradually dying out.²

(b) The jacket used by the women—especially by the women of the Jaffna Town—was introduced during the Portuguese period, and is still retained mostly among the fisher caste people. It is being gradually given up by the *Vellalas*.

Portuguese Influence on Jewellery :—

(a) The nuptial ornament called *purá tali* (Dove *táli*) was introduced during the Portuguese period. This is an ornament tied round the neck with a golden cord and is of the shape of a dove (representing the Holy Ghost), in lieu of the Hindu pattern of Pillaiyár (the elephant-faced god).

This *purá tali* is largely in use among the Roman Catholics, and even among some of the Protestant Christians.

(b) The hair pin called *kavuttór*³ was introduced by the Portuguese and it still retains the Portuguese name.

Portuguese Furniture.—Tables, chairs and almyrahs were introduced during the Portuguese period, and they are known even now by Portuguese names :—

mésai for a table (Port. *mesa*)
katirai for a chair (Port. *cadeira*)
alumarisu for an almyrah (Port. *almario*)

A pattern of wooden box known as *tayila* is still in use, and the word is very probably Portuguese. It is not Tamil at any rate.⁴

There is another pattern of wooden box known as *kanthóri*, and another known as *leinári* and these are Portuguese as their names imply.⁵

The name for a drawer is *lachchi*, which is a Portuguese word found also in Sinhalese.⁶

Portuguese Words in General Usage :—

There are several words that are largely in use among the Tamils of Jaffna, and these words must either be Portuguese or Dutch but most likely Portuguese.

2. This species of turban was to be seen at Jaffna when I was there in 1883-5. I did not notice it in 1902-6.

3. What is the actual Portuguese word? I have been unable to find it in De Viefra's *Portuguese-English Dictionary*. It would be interesting to have a list of Portuguese words in Tamil to compare with a similar list of Portuguese words in Sinhalese. As far as the latter are concerned they have been the subject of Papers by Mr. Louis Nell (*Orientalist*, Vol. III, pp. 41-36) and Mr. A. E. Buultjens (*ibid* Vol. II, pp. 214-8) but very little attention has been paid to similar words in Tamil, though Mr. E. Woodhouse did touch on the subject. (*Orientalist*, Vol. I, pp. 223-7. Vol. II, app. 155-8). Percival in his *English-Tamil Dictionary* practically ignores them.

4. What the original words? I cannot find it in De Viefra.

5. I have been unable to identify them as such. *Kantor* looks as if it were the Dutch, *kantoor*, an office, with a secondary meaning which it may have acquired of "a box."

6. What the actual word that has been taken over as *lachchuwa* in Sinhalese and *lachchi* in Tamil I do not know. I cannot find it in De Viefra who only gives *gaveta*. It is some archaic word.

1. *Ventisu* (auction sale)⁷
2. *Sittási* (summons, citation)⁸
3. *Aluppanti* (Custom House)⁹
4. *Pinkán* (plate)¹⁰
5. *Pirisu* (saucer)¹¹
6. *Koppai* (cup)¹²
7. *Tampéru* (drum, tambourine)¹³
8. *Alaváñku* (crowbar)¹⁴
9. *Vanku* (bench)¹⁵
10. *Patayam* (granary)¹⁶
11. *Karikoppu* (graveyard)¹⁷
12. *Istóppu* (verandah)¹⁸
13. *Yannal* (window)¹⁹
14. *Kamparai* (room)
15. *Chálai* (hall)

Customs. Portuguese influence may be seen in some of the local customs that are now observed by the people :—

(a). At the threshing floor, the custom still continues in many villages of drawing a cross over the heap of paddy as soon as the sheaves are threshed and the grain made into a heap. This is a custom introduced during the Portuguese period, apparently to prevent the removal of paddy before the Government share was paid.

(b). There is another custom in some of the villages, viz., of placing the plantain leaves on which people take their food during fasting days, under the palmyra *olas* of the house roof.

The Tamil Hindus take their food on leaves, and particularly so on fasting days. During the Portuguese period, the people were not allowed to observe any fasting days, and they had therefore to fast secretly, and conceal the leaves on which they took their food on those days beneath the palmyra *olas* of the roof, for fear of detection : and this practice still continues although the restriction does not exist now.

Flora. Portuguese influence may also be seen in the flora of Jaffna. There are fruit trees and plants introduced by the Portuguese, and they retain even today their Portuguese names :—

(a). The *koyyá* or guava grows wild all over the Peninsula and is said to have been introduced by the Portuguese, its Botanical name being *Psidium Pyriferum*.²⁰

(b). *Annavanna* (custard apple). This is itself a foreign plant, and the name is very likely Portuguese. There are two species of the plant, one of which is known as *paranki annavanna* or the *annavanna* of the *Parankis*, a name by which the Portuguese are known. The other kind is certainly indigenous, still it is also known by the name of *annavanna*. Perhaps its native name has been forgotten.

(c). *Irappala* (Breadfruit tree). This is not an indigenous plant. But it is not possible to say definitely that it was introduced

7. This is Dutch *ventilte*, also used in Sinhalese, *vendésiya*.

8. Probably through the Dutch from the Latin term. Sinhalese *sittásiya*.

9. Port. *alfandega*. The Jaffna Custom Office is still spoken of as "*Aluppanti*."

This is the word used in the Indo-Portuguese translation of the New Testament published at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Colombo, in 1852. "*Levo filha de Alpheo santando ne o alfandega*." (S. Mark, Chap. ii, v. 14). Another word of Portuguese origin *reguwa*, is applied both in Sinhalese and Tamil (*réku*) to the Custom House.

10. Also in Sinhalese, *pingána*. The Port. word I cannot find.

11. Port. *pires*; in Sinhalese *pirisiya*.

12. Port. *copo*, in Sinhalese *koppe*.

13. Port. *tambor*.

14. Port. *alavanca*. This word has so much vitality in it that it may be said to have got also into English—the English of Ceylon.

15. Port. *banco*; in Sinhalese *bankuwa*, a low seat.

16. Not identified as Port. What language is it?

17. Not Portuguese but Dutch, *kerkhof*; in Sinhalese *karikoppuwa*.

18. Dutch *stoep*; in Sinhalese *istóppuwa*.

19. Port. *janella*; in Sinhalese *janelle*.

20. It was probably introduced by the Portuguese. It is, however, known by both Sinhalese and Tamils by its Portuguese name *péra*.

by the Portuguese. The name is not Portuguese, but its Tamil meaning is *wet jak*.²¹

(d). *Vattalai* (sweet potato). The name is not Tamil, but I cannot say definitely that it is Portuguese.²²

An Anecdote.—There is an interesting anecdote still remembered by the Tamils of Jaffna in connection with the Portuguese rule :—

During the Portuguese period there was an order that every householder should by turn supply a head of cattle to be slaughtered for the use of the garrison. There was a pious Hindu at Tinnavéli, who was subsequently known by the name of Gnánapirakasas, and according to his ideas, supplying cattle for purpose of slaughtering was a heinous sin. When his turn came, he escaped by night to India where he became a profound scholar of both Sanscrit and Tamil and wrote several books and commentaries. He also constructed a tank at Chitamparam in South India which is still known by his name.

NOTE BY MR. J. P. LEWIS.

No doubt several other Portuguese words occurring in the speech of the Tamils of North and East Ceylon can be added by our readers. Some that suggest themselves—perhaps now

becoming obsolete—are *réal*, a rix-dollar, the Portuguese coin, the real; *bonkampu*, the shafts of a carriage, the Sinhalese *bonli*; *tára* a duck, in Sinhalese *táráwá*. There are the words for godfather and godmother, *kumpátiri* and *kumátiri*, which are the Port. *compadre* and *comadre*. Then there is the expression "let us have a drink," *soppi adippom*, where we find the Port. *sopa* "a sop" is used, as in Sinhalese *soppiya*. In Mannar arrack was sold by the "*canade*," which is the Port. *canada*, a measure of liquids, the capacity of which is said to be 12 bottles. A bier is *tumpa*, as in Sinh. *tumbé*, which is Portuguese. There is a word for a clasp knife or writing stile, *pissákkatti*, which Mr. C. Arumugam suggested to me was derived from the Portuguese *fechar*²³ to shut, and *katti*, knife.

Up to the middle of last century or thereabouts, the Tamils of Jaffna retained, I believe, in a few instances the practice of using the title "Don" as part of their designations—another relic of Portuguese times. It is now, I think, entirely given up. But with the Sinhalese, far from dying out or being discarded, this style has multiplied and become a mere name transmitted from father to son, and not to one son merely but to every son, like the continental Baron or Count.

21 The Portuguese name for the breadfruit tree is *javá de Maldiva*. There are other examples, e.g. *ananas* or pine-apple as in Sinhalese.

22 It comes from Havti through the Portuguese and the Spanish. "Potato" is the same word.

23 But compare the Sinhalese *ap-pina* "to shut, *ap-pina-pina*, "to shut."

DO THE SINHALESE DRINK MILK?

By HERBERT WHITE, C.C.S. (Retired.)

WITH A "NOTE" BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

DURING a residence of some thirty years in Ceylon, it always struck me as curious that the Sinhalese, meaning thereby the village class or rural Sinhalese, notwithstanding a seeming abundance of cattle, both buffaloes and black cattle, seldom seemed to milk their cows and rarely to drink milk.

C. S. Calverley, who, by the way, was indirectly connected with Ceylon, through his friendship with Walter Sendall, at one time Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon, jokingly alleged that the abstention of the ancient Greeks from malt liquor seemed to him a curious habit on their part.

The abstention of the Sinhalese from milk strikes me in a similar manner. I should like to know if it is a fact and, if so, whether it has any explanation.

The following letter, signed by a medical man, which was published in the *Daily Chronicle* of 21st December, 1917, on the subject of milk-drinking, or rather non-milk-drinking in the East, seemed to me of interest and induced me to look up the subject of milk-drinking among the Sinhalese in Ceylon books.

"NO MILK, THANK YOU."

"Taking milk with tea is an English custom and other nations who do so have simply followed our example. As to milk as an article of diet for full grown men, sometimes I am astonished at the value we set upon it. Though a cockney born I have lived most of my life in Burma, where there is not a Burman who knows how to milk a cow. Further, from Rangoon, through Siam, Tonkin, the whole of China (excluding Tartary), all Japan and the islands of Asia east of Ceylon, thus including more than a third of the human race, they

do not use cow's milk or any of its derivatives as food. When as a medical man, I have suggested to a Chinaman or a Burman, milk as a suitable food for a sick man they have spat with disgust, and protested that they left off milk when they left their mothers' breasts."

It will be noticed that the countries mentioned above are mostly Buddhist countries.

As regards Japan, I understand that there are not many cattle in that country. The well-known author, Basil Hall Chamberlain, in *Things Japanese* (5th ed., p. 19) states that in Japan "milk is regarded rather as a medicine than a food."

Writers on Ceylon have made various pronouncements on the question of milk-drinking amongst the Sinhalese.

The Census Commissioner, Mr. E. B. Denham, in his very interesting *Report on the Census of 1911*, speaking of the changes in diet that are taking place in Ceylon, says: "The native of Ceylon—unlike the Chinaman—always takes milk with tea," and he goes on to give figures to shew the increase in the quantity of tinned milk imported into the island.

Miss Gordon Cumming, who was in Ceylon in the "Seventies," in her *Two Happy Years in Ceylon* (1893 ed., p. 91) states with some emphasis:

"Strange to say, the Sinhalese have an invincible objection to milking their cows even when they possess large herds of cattle, and the calves might very well spare a certain amount. This prejudice has been in a measure overcome in the immediate neighbourhood of towns where foreigners require a regular supply; but (like the Chinese) no Sinhalese man, woman or child ever seems to drink

cow's milk, though a little is occasionally used in the form of curds and eaten with *ghee*, which is a sort of rancid butter."

The author of *Ceylon, by an Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles*, published in 1876, writes as follows (Vol. I, p. 395) :

"As in most warm climates, milk and butter are poor and very scarce, the granular butter called '*ghe*' being the only sort obtainable, except salt butter imported from Europe. The milk is that of goats and buffaloes."

One notices in this passage that the cow as a milk-producer is regarded as a negligible factor.

Sir Emerson Tennent strikes no uncertain note. Speaking of the use of Betel he observes that the native of Ceylon "never eating flesh meat by any chance and seldom or never using milk," by the chewing of areca-nut, lime and betel corrects the defective qualities of his daily food. (3rd ed., Vol. I, p. 113) and again p. 152 :

"The cows are worked equally with the oxen ; and as the calves are always permitted to suck them, milk is an article which the traveller can rarely hope to procure in a Kandyan village."

In Vol. II, p. 452, he reiterates as regards the Kandyans ;

"Black cattle (are) only kept to supply bullocks for tillage and transport. Milk they never use, the calves enjoying it unstinted ; and the prejudice is universal, that the cows would die were it otherwise disposed of."

Col. Campbell, in his *Excursions, Adventures and Field Sports in Ceylon*, published in 1843, recommending (Vol. I, p. 257) the establishment of schools for European children, advises that "above all care should be taken that they are amply supplied with good (and here very cheap) buffalo's, cow's or goat's milk."

Our author does not mention whether the Sinhalese (he was stationed at Galle when he made the above note) were in the habit of drinking the very cheap milk available, but I notice that he and the other military writer, "An Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles," both

speak of goat's milk. I wonder whether it was (or possibly is) a class of milk particularly supplied to soldiers or barracks. Civilian writers do not mention goat's milk in Ceylon so far as I know, nor do I remember ever wittingly partaking of it or hearing of it as a beverage when I was in Ceylon.¹

Some few years ago I believe the origin of "Malta fever" was traced to the consumption of goat's milk in that island. It would be interesting to know whether it is harmless in Ceylon.

Dr. Davy, in his *Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, published in 1821, says (p. 282) :

"Many other articles of food are used besides those that have been mentioned, particularly milk, of which in the coagulated state the Sinhalese are fond ; cheese they do not appear to be acquainted with nor with butter, excepting clarified, when it is called *gee* and is a frequent addition to their curries."

The implication here seems to be that the Sinhalese did not care about milk in the natural liquid form.

At p. 150 we read "*The Hoodoo Harak Pantia Mohandiram Nilame* was entrusted with the care of the king's herd of white cattle, which were brought from the continent of India and were much valued on account of their colour. The *Pattividane Nilame* had the superintendence of the king's cattle in general in different parts of the country, under the care of the *Pattea* people, and amounting perhaps to two thousand head."

Knox does not make much mention of milk. Of certain villagers among whom he was quartered at one time, he says :

"For the service they are to perform to the King, is to carry his Pallenkine when he pleaseth to ride therein and also to bring milk every morning to the Court, being keepers of the King's cattle."

Whether the Court partook of the milk in a coagulated or liquid form we do not know.

On leaving Anuradhapura, in the course of his flight to Mannar, Knox and his companions "took our leaves of the Governor, who kindly gave us a pot of milk² as a farewell."

1. [Allowed by Vedarālas, in lieu of cow's milk, when treating Europeans, &c., for dysentery. Ed., C. 4.]

2. [Probably *dikiri* (buffalo milk curd) Ed., C. 4.]

Knox also describes how the Sinhalese made butter and how they manufactured ghee out of milk and lime.

In the works of other writers on Ceylon we read of milk being offered to snakes, of talipot and palmyrah leaves being steeped in milk in the course of their preparation as material for writing on, and of milk being poured out at Bo trees to invoke rain, but of milk as a human beverage we hear singularly little.

According to the laws of the Buddhist Priesthood, under the head "Diet," "a priest may not solicit such *luxuries* as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish and flesh, *milk* or curds." See Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism* (p. 93). The italics are mine.

I wonder why the Sinhalese do not drink milk. Dr. Johnson's reply to Boswell: "Sir, you *may* wonder" was curt and unsatisfactory.

I wonder if I shall get any reply.

MILK-DRINKING IN ANCIENT CEYLON.

NOTE BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

WHATEVER may be the explanation of the apparent disinclination among present-day Sinhalese to drink milk, there can be little doubt that the ancient Sinhalese had no such prejudice. This fact is borne out to some extent at least by the following quotations from the *Mahāvansa* :—

Vasabha (1st century A.D.), before he comes to the throne,—that is, in the days of his concealment from the emissaries of the King who feared him—is once aided by the *Théras* of the Mahāvihāra by whom he is "provided with *milk*, food and clothes" (*Mah.* 35.65).

It is true the laws of the Buddhist Priesthood forbade a priest to *solicit* such luxuries as fish and flesh, ghee, butter, milk, &c.; but there was apparently no objection to receiving and eating or drinking them, as the case might be, if they were given unsolicited. There's the well-known story of king Buddhadasa (4th century) :—

"A certain priest, in the course of his alms pilgrimage through the village Thusavaṭṭika, received some boiled rice which had become dry. Procuring also *milk* which had already engendered worms, he ate his meal. Innumerable worms being produced thereby they gnawed his entrails. Thereupon, repair-

ing to the rájá, he stated his complaint to him. The king inquired of him: 'What are thy symptoms; and where didst thou take food?' He replied: 'I took my meal at the village Thusavaṭṭika, mixed with *milk*.' The rájá then knew that there must have been worms in the *milk*.

"On the same day a horse was brought, afflicted with a complaint, which required his blood vessels to be opened. The rájá performed that operation, and taking blood from him administered it to the priest. After waiting awhile he observed: 'That was horse's blood.' On hearing this, the priest threw it up. The worms were got rid of with the blood, and he recovered. The rájá then thus addressed the priest in the impulse of his joy: 'By one puncture of my own surgical instrument, both the priest afflicted with worms and the horse have been cured; surely this medical science is a wonderful one!'" (*Mah.* Wijesinha, Ch. 37, pp. 162-3).

And among the "acts of great merit" which Hatthadātha (7th century) performed were that "he gave gifts of *curdled milk*, and rice and *milk*, and milk rice, and clothes, at the Mahápáli." (*Mah.* 45.25).

Mahinda II (8th century), we are told, "gave to the Brahmans the best of such food as was meet for kings, and their *milk* and

sugar he made them drink out of vessels of gold" (*Mah.* 48. 144).

Apparently, in those days, milk was considered even "meet for kings." And Royalty, who were proud to consider themselves the servants of the Priesthood, found milk a truly royal gift to be made to priests or to be given to the poor as charity.

Wherefore it is that we are told of Udaya I (9th century) that "to the brethren of the three establishments he gave *curdled milk* and rice" (*Mah.* 51.133), and of Parákrama

Báhu the Great (12th century), that "in the four quarters of the city he built four alms-halls . . . and for the use of those halls he gave *thousands of cows that yielded good milk.*" (*Mah.* 73.28).

The above quotations are taken at random, but they suffice, I think, to prove that, if the ancient Sinhalese, whether priests or laymen, were not great milk-drinkers, at least that they had no known prejudice against this wholesome and luxurious beverage.



CRITICAL NOTES ON THE "EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA."

(Continued from Vol. IV, pp. 19-35.¹)

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired.)

9. POLONNARUWA INSCRIPTIONS.

PROFESSOR Don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe has so far published, or republished, in the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*" (Vol. II, Parts 2, 3, 4; 1914-1917), from estampages supplied by the Archaeological Survey Department, nineteen Inscriptions of Polonnaruwa—three Pillar, fifteen Slab, one Rock—all belonging to a single King, *Kirti Nisṣanka Malla* (A. D. 1198-1207), with the exception of the "*Rāja Māligāwa*" pillar record of *Mahindu IV.* (A.D. 975-991.)

Of these Inscriptions, Slabs Nos. 17 (*Galpota*), 20, 21, 22, 26, 28, appeared first in Müller's *Ceylon Inscriptions*, 1883; Nos. 22 (Slab), 23 (Pillar); "*Rankot Vēhera*" had been originally edited by Mr. (now Professor) T. W. Rhys Davids in *Journal R. A. S.*, 1875; Nos. 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, were given in Roman transcript and translation by Mr. S. M. Burrows in *Journal C. A. S.* Vol. X, 1887²; whilst Nos. 18 (Pillar), 27 (Slab), 29 (Rock) were published in the *Archæological Survey Annual Reports* for 1901 and 1911-1912.

Besides re-editing the fifteen Inscriptions above specified, Mr. Wickremasinghe broke entirely new ground in presenting, for the first time, four others, viz., Nos. 10 (Pillar; "*Rāja Māligāwa*"), 24 (Slab; *Stone Bath*), 25 (Slab; "*Śiva Dēvālē*"), 30 (Slab; *City, North Gate*).

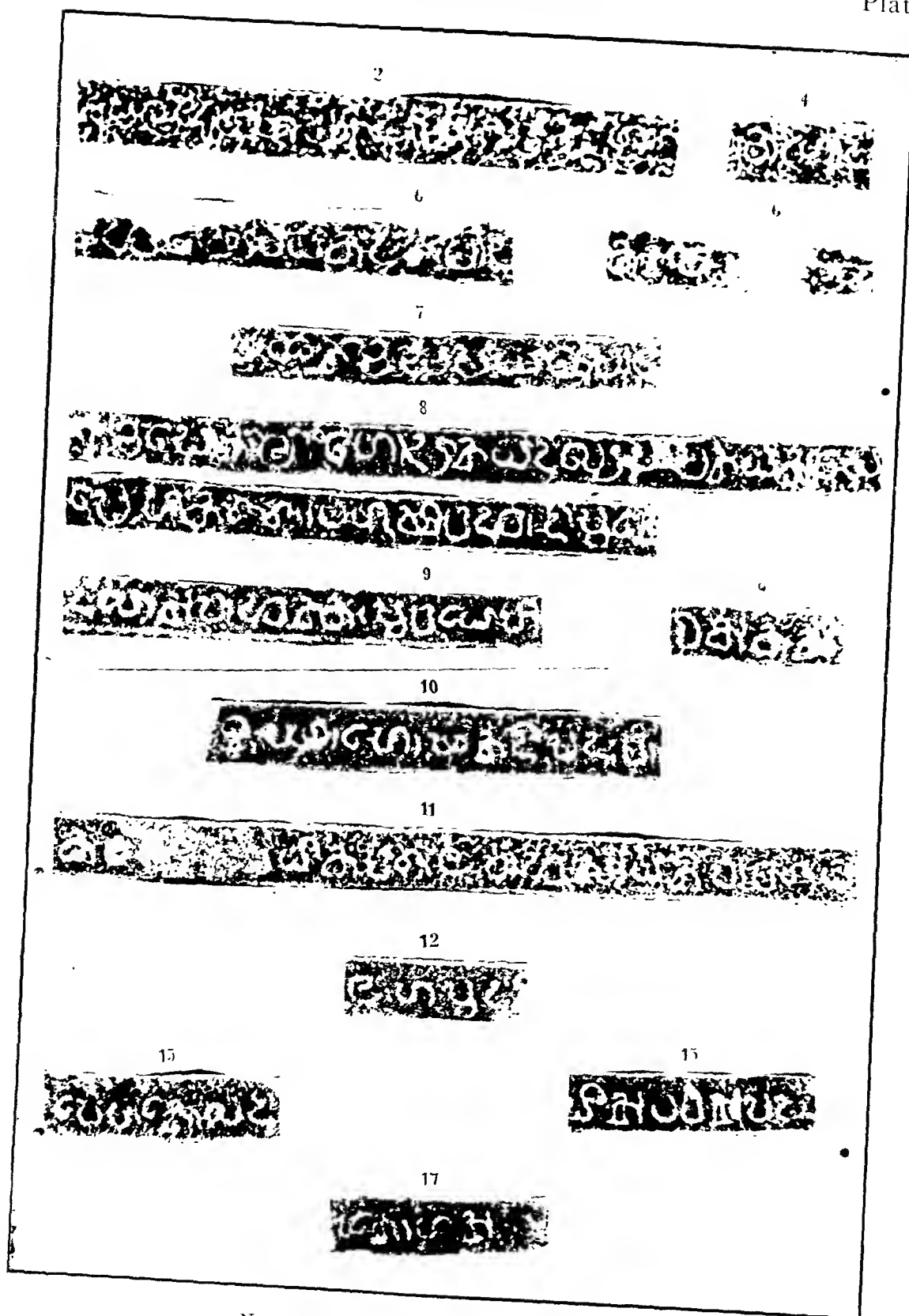
All these lithic records (whether those already published by previous workers in the line, or the quartette which had not been touched hitherto), have been issued by the learned Professor, like all his work, with that scholarly acumen and marked success to which students of Ceylon Epigraphy have become accustomed; and on which they have, therefore, learnt to count in regard to further instalments.

That a comparison of the texts of these Polonnaruwa epigraphs—which have had to be based mostly on estampages, more or less elusive in places, as published in the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*,"—would yield even better results by careful collation with the records cut on the rock, slabs, and pillars themselves, may be safely taken for granted; but, be that as it may, it is no more than the Professor's due that he should be as frankly complimented, as thanked cordially, for furnishing matter on the whole so essentially reliable and delightfully free from serious errors.

In an Antiquarian Periodical not exclusively limited to Epigraphy, to deal with the whole series of the above specified Inscriptions *seriatim*, even by way of legitimate "constructive criticism," would be inexcusably wearisome.

1. Continued from "Critical Notes on the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*" Nos. 1-8, *The Ceylon Antiquary*, IV pp. 19-35.

2. Mr. Burrows was aided "in the decipherment and translation of the inscriptions" by the clerk of the Disava of Tamankaduwa, named "Inamaluwa Ihala-Walawwe Loku Banda," *Sess. Pap.* X, 1886, p. 11 later known as Galagoda Banda, Kōrāla.



No. 15. · HEṬṬADAGE · VESTIBULE :
WALL INSCRIPTION.

In proof, therefore, of the undoubted general reliability of the texts as put forward by Professor Wickremasinghe, it will suffice to refer briefly to but five Inscriptions, A, B, C, D, E; in the hope that the suggestions

offered may prove helpful, should these records ever be reprinted.

A sixth Inscription (F), viz., the so-called, "Slab Inscription of Vijaya Báhu II," alone demands more drastic treatment; and that in the interest of historic truth.

A.

No. 15. "HETADÁGE" VESTIBULE: WALL INSCRIPTION.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 1914, II, pp. 91-96.)

The Text published by Mr. Wickremasinghe, from the "squeeze" he holds, is manifestly open to correction here and there (see Plate I.)

Line 2. The usual order of the expressions, *vana durgga paṇka durgga*, rules here too; not as printed *vice versa*.

Line 4. The line ends with the full word *Māḷigava*

Line 6. The Archaeological Commissioner read (*Archl. Survey, Annual Report*, 1903, p. 16) *Satara balana Pá(sádaya) anar-ghataya kudu nanvá*.

Satara; *Pásádaya*. These readings (for *pora*; *paridden*) may, or may not, be correct; but *maṇḍapaya* does not intervene before *kudu*.³

The last word in this line is doubtful. Mr. Wickremasinghe reads it as (*ásanaya*). Mr. Jayasékara, Inspector of Ruins at Polonnaruwa, would substitute *ávaranaya*.³

B.

No. 17. "GALPOTA" SLAB INSCRIPTION.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, 1915, pp. 98-123.)

In regard to the scholarly editing of this fine 12th-13th Century Inscription of 72 lines, containing more than 4,300 letters—far the longest lithic record known in Ceylon—Mr. John M. Senaveratne pays just praise to Mr.

Wickremasinghe in a Paper published in *The Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. I, pp. 231-6.):—

"The uniform closeness and accuracy of Professor Wickremasinghe's able translation, as a whole, leaves practically nothing for general criticism."

3. Mr. Wickremasinghe admits that owing to his extraneous "being defective just here," he has adopted Mr. Burrows' transcription in *C. A. S. Journal*, 1887, p. 6. It is doubtful whether any "squeeze" could be got to show the worn and indistinct writing entirely.

Mr. Jayasékara, Inspector of Ruins, Polonnaruwa, boldly proposes an entirely different transcript, not unreasonable if it can be justified by the slab itself. He would read:—*et-tara balana paṇka et-ghataza* . . . *tun anar-ghataya* and translate "he erected elephant-stables (*et-ghataza*) for the purpose of viewing the elephants' strength (*et-tara*); and, having witnessed their wrestling and seen their power, he built three shelters (*ávaranaya*) including the gate-keeper's hall (*hárá salaiva*)"

4. Mr. Jayasékara proposes *Brunga-vana* "the Bee-forest."

5. By an error of the past the words, which immediately proceed *ichchá bojana*, were unfortunately omitted, from Plate I.

Even so, Mr. Senaveratne discovered—naturally enough in the very extensive record—"a few words and phrases, not unimportant, which seem to call for some further examination."

Accordingly, he selected certain doubtful points and renderings, which he subjected to thorough scrutiny.

Mr. Wickremasinghe (C. A. Vol. II, pp. 175-6) "countered" by a short Paper, pleading guilty to other "real defects"; but—in his wisdom—did "not think it necessary to examine in detail" his critic's "remarks on the etymology and the meaning of certain obscure terms found in the text."

This reply was promptly met by a trenchant "rejoinder," hardly unexpected, from Mr. Senaveratne (C. A. II, 176-8).⁶

Inter alia, Mr. Senaveratne (C.A. I, p. 235) found himself unable to accept Mr. Wickremasinghe's proposed translation of the associated words *daru-kusalán māṅga-kusalán* (Galpota, A, lines 23, 24.) :—

The suggestion that these were probably "drinking vessels for children" and "drinking vessels on the roadside for travellers," respectively, is, I venture to think, not quite accurate. The two terms seem to signify here not so much the means—the instruments by which this form of charity was to be exercised—as the charity itself. In this view the sentence would read better: "He . . . re-established offerings to gods; (also) the meritorious custom, as it existed aforetime, of providing drink to (thirsty) children and wayfarers."

For taking this broader view Mr. Senaveratne can be amply justified by a series of wholly unambiguous instances where the term *kusalán* occurs in other Inscriptions.

In these records the basic meaning of *kusalán*—here, and in the Dimbulágala Cave Inscription, not understood by Mr. Wickremasinghe—is made indisputably clear by the context (referring in every case to religious or

charitable benefactions) with which the word is associated. And that meaning cannot but be synonymous with the modern phrase *pinaṭa* "for (the sake of earning) Buddhist merit" or "for charity."

The pertinent instances⁷ quoted below are taken from lithic inscriptions of the 11th-15th centuries :—

(i) **Ambagamuwa** (Central Province): *Ambagamuva-da Veḷigampela-da Ulaṇā-da eṭuḷuve me tuvák tēn kusalán boṭā koṭa*.

(ii) **Dimbulá-gala** (N. C. Province.) :

Demaḷē vēḥesara kusalán karavá (= modern Sinhalese *pin-gamak karavá*) "having dedicated the Tamil-tank (village) for the sake of religious merit."

(iii) **Balalu-vewa** (N. C. Province) :

Má Baḷallen divel (Tunbu)lla kusalánaṭa piḍi.

(iv) **Nákolagane Vihare** (N. W. Province) :

Náḡeḷaṭa kusalán koṭe piḍu Siṭaviṇen kusalán Digpiṭiyayi . . . Giri-bhandusá Kumárayan Náḡaḷaṭa kusalán koṭe piḍu (Ná) ḡaḷaṭa kusálana koṭa piḍu Kurugoḍa idiripiṭa dasamuna kusalána

(v) **Évunugalla** (Kéḡalla District) :

Mahendra Lanká Adhikára Pirivaṇe kusalányi.

(vi) **Waharakgoda** (Kéḡalla District) :

Me kusalán pata (liyá dun) ba(va)ṭa.

Similarly; in the **Galpota** Inscription (N. C. Province) *daru kusalán māṅga kusalán*, in the special connection in which the terms are ranged, bore the appropriate meaning "charitable alms (*kusalán*=the present day *pin-bat*, 'food given in order to obtain Buddhist *kusala*, or merit'). to (a) children (*daru*) and to (b) wayfarers (*manga*)."

6. The admission by the Professor of other errors does not, of course, explain his non admission, by the process of simply shirking the point, of those specified by me. My critical notes represented the considered opinion of some of the best Ceylon Scholars whom I had consulted, and their views cannot be so lightly brushed aside.—J. M. S.

7. For further confirmation of the true meaning of *kusalán* in such connection, compare the following quotations from Sinhalese Religious works (kindly given the writer):—*Dan veta gāṣā kēṛōḍa kusalán gāṣā kēṛōḍa Budun satu dē kēṛōḍa* ('Saddharmahankaraya'), *Kusalán gāṣā kēṛōḍa e Maññi hōḍakunmāya* ('Maññi Varnanāva - Anāgata-vāṇsa Desanāva'),

The mediæval term *maṅga kusalan* may well have covered some equivalent of the modern *pin-táli* (water-pots set beside roads for the free use of travellers), but assuredly *kusalan* alms were not so limited, and

meant general food, &c., in the obvious case of *daru kusalan*, as well as that of the Temple and villages specified in the above quoted Inscriptions which were "dedicated for merit-bearing charity (Sinhalese. *pin-gam karavá*)."

C.

No. 18. "NISSANKA-DĀNA-VINODA MANDAPA" PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 1915, II. pp. 123-125.)

A short record of twelve lines only, six each on two sides of the head of a semi-rectangular, semi-octagonal, granite pillar.

Transcript of the text was given in the *Archl. Survey, Annual Report, 1902*, p. 11.⁸

The text of the inscription is quite clear, save for one word (Side B, line 2) which seems

too worn to be definitely deciphered, except the first *akshara* which is *di*. This word the Archæological Commissioner read doubtfully, from the pillar itself, as (*dikshitavē*). Mr. Wickremasinghe prefers to extract *di(vitili)*, "having compassion on their life," from his paper-impression—a reading perhaps more likely.⁹

D.

No. 27. SLAB INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKA MALLA.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, 1917, pp. 153-156.)

The inscription appeared in *Archæological Survey, Annual Report, 1911-12*, p. 102, accompanied by a Photograph taken from the slab direct.

Mr. Wickremasinghe's reading, from a "squeeze," differs very slightly in but one or two places, being virtually the same throughout.

The following paragraph, however, in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, explanatory of the incompleteness of the inscription—by no means an uncommon occurrence—needs correction:—

The first twenty-three lines of the inscription are engraved on the smoothed face of the slab between ruled lines, two inches apart. The next four lines are cut, according to Mr. Bell, one on each of the four narrow sides. The rest of the inscription is wanting. It may possibly be found on the reverse side of the slab.

To free it of vegetation, &c., the slab had to be turned over not infrequently in the course of the dozen years (1900-1912) it lay in the Archæological Survey premises at Poḷonnaruwa. Had there been writing *on the back*, it could not have failed to attract notice; and would have been reproduced in the Archæological Survey Report, as a matter of course.¹⁰

E.

No. 29. "PRĪTI-DĀNAKA MANDAPA" ROCK INSCRIPTION.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 1917, II, pp. 165-178).

First printed, with Photographic Plate of the writing on the rock, in *Archl. Survey, Annual Report, 1911-1912*, pp. 104-5.

There are far too many weatherings in this long epigraph of 45 lines to furnish a copy more than very fairly complete.

Professor Wickremasinghe, armed with his "estampage," has struck out into uncertain paths more boldly than the Archæological Commissioner felt justified in venturing in view of the sadly worn condition of much of the rock record.

8. *Hiṇḍāna*, for *hiṇḍa*, in the Archæological Survey transcript is a clerical error of the "copy" for press. *Hiṇḍa* is quite clear on the pillar.

9. Mr. Jayasekara suggests, ingeniously, *dipatira* "like a Brahmin."

10. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, III, p. 9, footnote 20.

In one important word (lines 43, 44) Mr. Wickremasinghe distinctly improved on the Archæological Survey originally poor rendering, by reading *Priti dāna(ka) maṇḍa-payak*, where the Archæological Survey's erratic text gave *Priti dānana mamapasak*.

Both mislections were subsequently cleared up, and the true version definitely found by the Archæological Commissioner to be *Priti Dāna nama* (or *namin*) *Maṇḍapayak* "A Maṇḍapa called 'Glad some Alms (hall)'"¹¹

F.

No. 30. SLAB INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA BĀHU II.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 1917, II, pp. 179-184.)

Under the above title Mr. Wickremasinghe has edited in Vol. II, Part 4, 1917 (the last issued), of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* the first side of an inscribed slab, dating back to the Twelfth-Thirteenth Century, which is still erect at Poḷonnaruwa.¹²

Eight years previously the Archæological Commissioner (*Annual Report*, 1909, p. 8) had written :—

"In the old street skirting the Monastery to south of this ruin stands the pillar-slab inscription of which Mr. S. M. Burrows has given a partial transcript in Roman characters and translation (*Journal C.A.S.*, Vol. X, 1886, pp. 71-74).

The slab bears 36 lines of writing on one face (all legible)¹³; and on the other side 28, of which the last 6 are in Tamil, illegible except here and there.

The inscription confirms the treacherous murder of Vijaya Bāhu II, nephew of Parākrama Bāhu the Great (*Mahāwamsa*, LXXX, 15-16). It may belong to Niṣṣaṅka Malla or Sahasa Malla."¹⁴

Mr. Wickremasinghe's summarised description of the contents of the inscription, in which he attributes it to *Vijaya Bāhu II*, is as follows :—

After the usual auspicious word *Svasti* and a Sanskrit verse, of which only the first line is partially legible,¹⁵ the record goes on to state that Vijaya, the eldest son of Siṅha-Bāhu of the Kālinga-Chakravarti dynasty came over to Ceylon, defeated the Yaksās, and became King; that a descendant of his was Parākrama-Bāhu, who brought the Island of Lankā under one canopy of dominion; and that this King, desiring the continuation of his dynasty, invited his sister's son (*bēṇā*) over from Siṅhapura, invested him with royal dignity, and in course of time died.

The nephew was thereafter duly anointed King Vijaya-Bāhu, but the day after his accession to the throne some treacherous Ministers rose against him. A Chieftain named Vijayāyān-tenavan, however, protected the King, and, quelling the rebellion, restored peace to the country. In recognition of these distinguished services, King Vijaya-Bāhu granted him heritable lands with certain privileges, described on Side B, lines 1 to 22, and ending with the usual clause to the effect that the regulations so enacted should be preserved.

The remaining six lines contain an illegible Sanskrit stanza in Tamil character of the type in use during the Twelfth Century A.D.

The above synopsis quite correctly represents the gist of the writing on the slab, except (a) in one all important sentence on Side A, and (b) the limiting of the contents on Side B, lines 1-22 to the grant of "heritable lands with certain privileges" to the Minister Vijaya Yan; for owing to the hopeless weathering of this face of the stone nearly everything remains illegible down to line 20; and only its very commencement seems capable of being partially understood, having regard to the closing lines on Side A.

As will be shown below, a serious mislection by Mr. Wickremasinghe on Side A (of which face alone he gives a Plate) has led him into a vital mistake in regard to the attribution of the record to Vijaya Bāhu II.

In 1909 the Archæological Commissioner considered, as quoted above, that the Inscription confirmed the death of Vijaya Bāhu II, and might belong to Niṣṣaṅka Malla or Sahasa

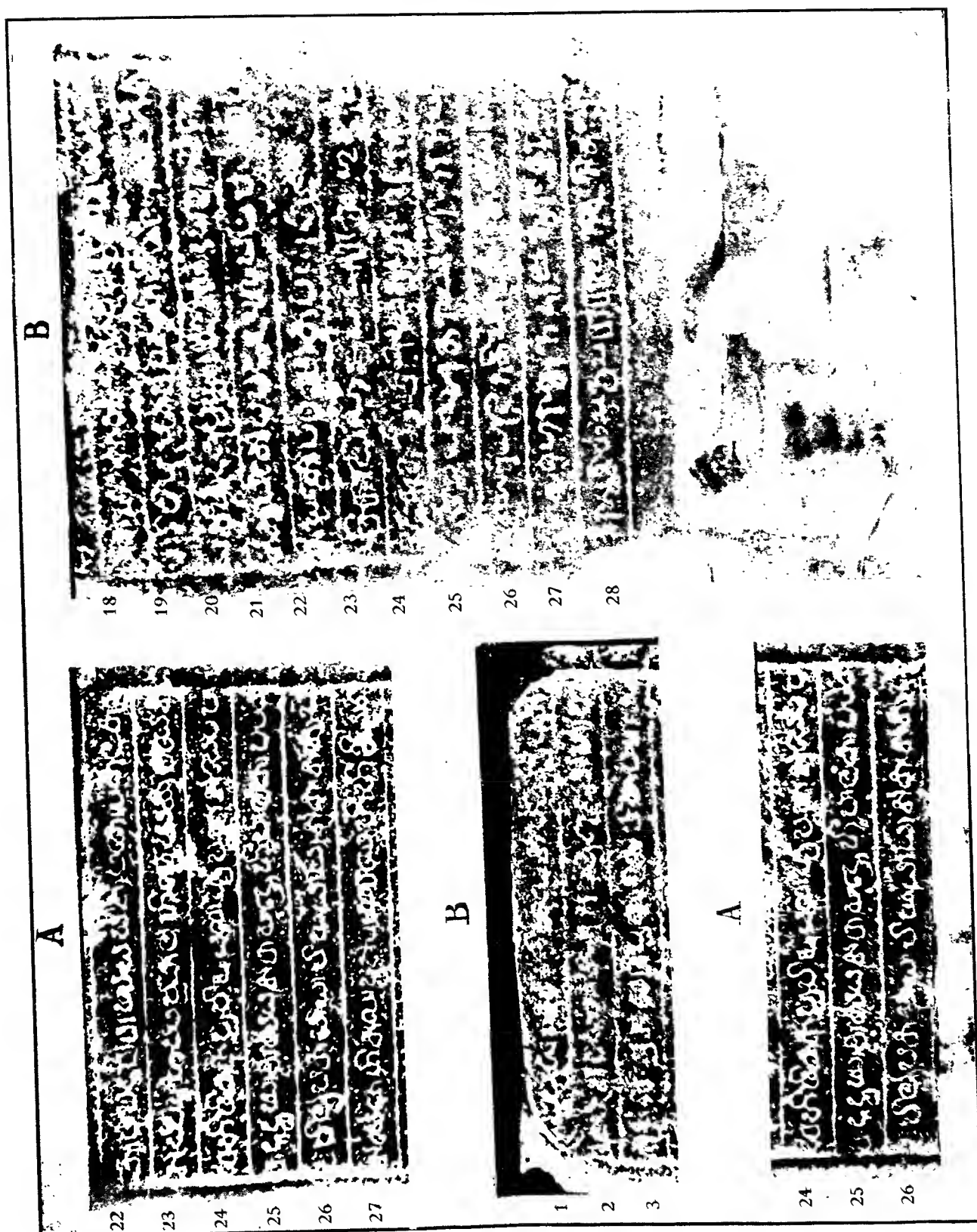
11. *Id.* p. 11, footnote 22.

12. The slab does not stand near "the ancient irrigation channel" (i.e. a *uṇ-ēla* of Ti-āveva tank), as unwittingly stated by Mr. Wickremasinghe; but some distance south of it, and at the side of a depressed street of the Old City.

13. Side A. In all, lines 36 (with *Svasti* at head); legible except the first six or seven lines.

14. This suggestive paraphrase finds no place in Mr. Wickremasinghe's Article in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

15. Mr. Wickremasinghe's reading of this opening line is *Sri Kālinga-nṛpaḥ Parākrama-bhu* (30). It is quite likely that the first six lines of the Sanskrit-Sinhalese text on Side A were exactly reproduced in the Sanskrit-Grantha lines (23-28) closing Side B.



No. 30. SLAB INSCRIPTION OF "VIJAYA BĀHU II."

Malla. The selection, even then, obviously lay between these two sovereigns, brothers or half brothers: there never appeared to be any justification for attributing it to a third sovereign.

Having, however, made up his own mind that the Inscription must belong to Vijaya Báhu II, Mr. Wickremasinghe is necessarily forced to labour a case for fixing the parentage of that King on Gaja Báhu II, and Bhaddavati, younger sister of Parákrama Báhu I.

He says:—

The historical facts alluded to (in the present Inscription) not only corroborate the account in the *Mahāwamsa* but also throw additional light on the short reign of that unhappy monarch Vijaya-Báhu II (1186-1187 A.D.).

We are now absolutely certain that he was a son of a sister of Parákrama Báhu I; and this sister could be no other than Bhaddavati, the spouse of King Gaja-Báhu II (1132-1153 A.D.); for Parákrama-Báhu had only two other sisters, who were married to his hostile cousin Mānābharaṇa, son of Siri Vallabha. Their issues were Siri Vallabha and Kirti-Siri-Megha, and they all belonged to the party which opposed the political ascendancy of the Kālinga dynasty.

It is true, however, that in the course of the war both these Princes were taken captive and were brought before Parákrama Báhu; but nothing is known as to their fate, and we have no grounds to presume that Parákrama Báhu took pity on them and adopted one of them as his heir.

It is also true that there is the statement of certain Buddhist monks in *Mahāwamsa*, LXX, 333, that Gaja-Báhu II had neither a son nor any brothers; but this may mean, judging from the circumstances under which the statement was made, that he had no son or brother near him at the time to continue the war and eventually to succeed him on the throne.

In the absence of any reference to a fourth sister of Parákrama-Báhu I, it is probable that his *benā* or nephew was Bhaddavati's son, either by Gaja-Báhu II or by a second marriage, unless, of course, the word *benā* is applied loosely, as is often done, to indicate a more distant relative.

As to where the nephew was when Parákrama Báhu sent for him, the Chronicles are silent. The Inscription alone tells us quite definitely that he was then living in Sinhapura, the capital of Kālinga.

We must, therefore, assume that when war broke out between Gaja-Báhu II and Parákrama Báhu I, Bhaddavati, queen of the former and sister of the latter, fled to India with her son for safety as many a royal personage had done so before. Some years later the Buddhist monks brought about a reconciliation between the two Monarchs.

This, and the continuation of the war with Mānābharaṇa, may have paved the way for Parákrama-Báhu to look on Bhaddavati's son with favour. So, when he found towards the close of his reign that he was still childless and the question of a successor had to be settled, he rightly chose this Prince in preference to the sons of his other sisters by Mānābharaṇa.

That there was much opposition to this election is clear both from the insurrection that took place on the day after the accession of this Prince to the throne as Vijaya-Báhu II, and from his tragic death a year later at the hands of Mahinda and Dipani.

Brief comments on the above will suffice.

(i) If the categorical statement of the *Mahāwamsa*, that most reliable of all the Sinhalese Chronicles, be accepted—and Mr. Wickremasinghe's unreasonably strained attempt to explain it away carries little or no conviction—that the old "King (i. e. Gaja Báhu II) hath neither a son nor any brethren," and "by reason of his age standeth now at the gates of death."¹⁶ Mr. Wickremasinghe's whole card-tower of assumptions collapses incontinently.

(ii) Mr. Wickremasinghe has to admit that Parákrama Báhu I had, besides Bhaddavati, "two other sisters" (Mittā and Pabhāvatī), who were both married to the King's cousin, Mānābharaṇa the younger.

(iii) By his wife, Mittā, Mānābharaṇa had a son Siri Vallabha, and by Pabhāvatī, another son Kittī Sirimegha, as the Princes are styled in the *Mahāwamsa*: both names are *birudas*. In view of Gaja Báhu II being childless, it was almost certainly one or the other of these two Princes who, as "sister's son," succeeded his uncle Parákrama Báhu I on the throne, under the title of Vijaya Báhu (II).

16. *Mahāwamsa* LXXI, 333.

(iv) As to the fate of Mánābharāṇa's two sons, "though nothing is known definitely," surely we have—not "no grounds," *pace* Mr. Wickremasinghe but—very good documentary evidence "to presume that Parākrama Bāhu took pity on them, and adopted one of them as his heir."

Not once nor twice does the Old Chronicle delight to dwell on the compassion—amused cynical compassion at times—shown by Parākrama Bāhu the Great to rivals in arms, his cousin Gaja Bāhu II, the General Sankha, and others.¹⁷

Further, we know that Siri Vallabha, the elder son of Mánābharāṇa, followed in the train of Parākrama Bāhu I. when that Conqueror made his triumphal entry into Polonnaruwa: and, again, that, on the death shortly afterwards of his cousin Mánābharāṇa, the King sent for the latter's younger son, his other nephew, Kitti Sirimégha.¹⁸

There is every ground, therefore, for the reasonable assumption that Vijaya Bāha II was in fact one of the Princes Siri Vallabhu or Kirti Sirimégha.

So much for Vijaya Bāhu II's identity.

It now remains, by an examination of the text itself, altogether to disconnect that Ruler with the *gal-sannasa*, and to fix its authorship definitely upon King Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka.

The whole question hinges on the misreading of a single word in the Sinhalese text, and its consequent deceptive translation.

Owing to his estampage unfortunately not yielding the full impression, Mr. Wickremasinghe has been led to transcribe wrongly *the fateful word* which occurs at the end of line 24 and the beginning of line 25; and thus to offer a translation at variance with the actual meaning of the sentence.

Mr. Wickremasinghe reads (Side A, lines 23-26.):—

23. (*ishṭa*) *kramayen*
24. *abhishiktavū Vijaya Bāhu-vahanseṭa*
(*pa-*)
25. *-nadā*) *dusṭāmātyayan rājadrohiṇe*
Lankāva(ṭa ka-
26. *- la vilupta) sādha Vijaya-yān-ten-*
nāva
27. *-n se(me)hi tabā dun rājayayehi*

This he translates:—

"Then in accordance with his (Parākrama Bāhu the Great) wishes Vijaya Bāhu was anointed (King). On the following day (*pana-da*),¹⁹ however, certain treacherous Ministers became traitors and caused (disturbances) in Lankā. But the Chief Vijaya-yān-ten-nāvan suppressed them, and, restoring peace, delivered the Kingdom to His Majesty."

In reality the three pregnant *aksharas* (lines 24, 25) do not read පනද, "*panadā*" but වෙරෙද, "*veṛedā*."²⁰ This entirely alters the complexion of the passage (Plate II, A).

The translation of the sentence from *Vijaya Bāhu-vahanseṭa* onwards, thus amended, then gives as the true meaning:—

"But some evil-minded Ministers turned traitors, doing hurt to (*veṛedā*) His Majesty Vijaya Bāhu, and caused exceeding turmoil (*vilupta*); but the Chieftain Vijaya-yān quashed it and restored the Kingdom (to His Majesty, Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka) in tranquillity (*senehi*)."²¹

And this record, as it may be read without error at this day on the stone slab, is borne out by the *Mahāvamsa*; for according to that History, it was not on the day after his inauguration *but a year later*, that the rebellion against Vijaya Bāhu II occurred, resulting in his murder.

The *Mahāvamsa* makes this quite clear:—

"Thus, having performed divers acts of great merit, this King (Vijaya Bāhu II) whose fame as a Ruler, both of the Kingdom and of the Church was great, reigned only one year. For a certain Mahinda of Kālinga, a false friend, caused his death by foul means with the help of an accomplice, a cowherdess Dipani by name."²²

17. Mahāvamsa LXV, 16, 27-31: LXVI, 30, 56: LXVII, 49-52: LXIX, 22: LXX 145, 235-241, 244, 273-4.

18. *Id.* LXXII 324, 333, 343.

19. The *italics* are the present writers.

20. See Plate I A. line.

21. *Vilupta*: *vi* intensive, *lupta* "plunder": *senehi* (on the slab): perhaps meant for *semehi*, as in *Epigraphia*

22. Mahāvamsa LXXX 11, 17, 18.

The Chronicle then sums up the course of events which immediately ensued—the short-lived rule of Mahinda "with great trouble for five days only"—the righteous anger of the army, people, Chiefs, and King's Ministers (among whom the great General Vijaya-yán²³ was doubtless the recognised head and moving spirit)—the execution of the usurper, presumably upon the prompt suppression of the rising, followed quickly by the accession to the throne of Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka.

"But this foolish (Mahinda) was able to rule the Kingdom with great trouble for five days only; because that he succeeded not in obtaining the consent and the support of the Chiefs of the army, and the men of valour, and the inhabitants of the country, and the King's Ministers, who were all greatly enraged with him for the deed that he had done."

And Kittī Niṣṣaṅka, who was a descendant of the race of Kālinga, and the sub-king of the King Vijaya Báhu, put him to death and himself became King."²⁴

Thus there can be no fair reason to doubt (even according to the Sinhalese text of the Inscription, independent of the Sanskrit-Grantha epilogue) that the Ruler to whom the General Vijaya-yán handed over the Kingdom, after putting down the insurrection, was not Vijaya Báhu II—who had been murdered—but the relative of the dead King, the Kālinga Prince, Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka Malla.

The whole record on Side A—the first line (save the *maṅgala* heading *Swasti*) included, of an otherwise illegible preamble,²⁵ lines 1-7—proclaims its connection, so plainly as to be unmistakable, with Niṣṣaṅka Malla and no other sovereign.

Very briefly, but with full traditional and historic accuracy, the King reviews the circumstances which led to his accession—his uncle Parákrama Báhu's descent from the first Vijaya; his own coming to Ceylon, and investment there with royal rank, as a future Ruler—quite probably owing to Vijaya Báhu

II being childless and a suitable Prince needed to succeed him; the episode of the sudden rebellion against Vijaya Báhu, sternly crushed by Vijaya-teṇ Tāvaru-nāvan; the throne falling to him (as Parákrama Báhu I's nephew and Vijaya Báhu II's sub-king); and the well-merited recompense, in gratitude to the masterful Chief to whom he had owed his elevation to kingship.

On Side B—with the exception of some connected words in lines 1, 2, and the greater part of lines 20, 21, 22, which close the Sinhalese portion of the Inscription—only a few letters, or may be a chance word, can be deciphered, so weathered is this face of the slab.

It was evidently on whatever he made of these particular lines that Mr. Wickremasinghe assumed that the grant to Vijaya-yán consisted of "heritable lands with certain privileges," and that the *gal-sannasa* concludes with "the usual clause to the effect that the regulations so enacted should be preserved."

This generalisation is approximately correct; but something more precise may perhaps be extracted from lines 1, 2, (Side B). So far as can be made out, these seem to read²⁶—

1. . . su hira saṇḍa pamuṇu-
van
2. hi(mi)yanvakansaṭṭa (ghana) ran
pamuṇuvan hā (ma . .

Connecting these (Plate II, B) on to the last two lines of Side A, which run:—

36. Kālinga-vanṣayaṭṭa me
daskam
37. koṭṭa á heyinut me kaḷa daskamaṭṭa
(ta)

the sentence can be provisionally translated in part:—

23. Regarding this masterful Chief see *Epigraphia Zeylanica* II, p. 161; *Ceylon Antiquary* II, p. 30, footnote 11.

24. See *supra* footnote 14.

25. Plate I B, lines

"In as much as (the Vijaya Yān family) has been rendering faithful services to this (illustrious) Kāliṅga dynasty—in recognition of (*lit. for*) this loyal service, hereby are granted lands in perpetuity (*hira saṇḍa pamuṇuvan*; *lit. 'grants so long as sun and moon endure'*), and to his Lordship gifts of pure gold."

Of the rest of the Sinhalese writing (Plate II, B) on Side B, lines 19—22 (with *lacunae*, and doubtful letters, in the first two) yield—²⁶

19. *vana . . heyin Manu
rājendra-*

20. *-yan vadālavū su(kṛitaya)n hā-da
samanam ve-*

21. *ganuyi koṭa vadāla vyavasthāvaṭa
avi-*

22. *-ruddha koṭa rakshā kata yutu²⁷*

"Because of the existence of (*lit. there being*) (these) should be observed (or upheld), without infringing the decree which was pronounced as being in agreement also with the (moral rules, or code) of the Great King Manu."

It should be added that, at the end of the record, is cut the figurine of a *fish* (or may be a couple of fish) the usual royal emblem of Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka Malla, as found in

other of his Inscriptions. This goes to support further that King's connection with the grant.

To round off the identification fully, Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao,²⁸ Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State, most generously responded to the writer's request, by elucidating the apparently illegible Sanskrit-Grantha lines which close the Inscription.

His crisp and invaluable Note, covering Transcript and Translation, appear below in the Appendix, and clinch absolutely the identity of the Royal grantor.

Nothing, it will be seen, but his inability, —natural enough in the circumstances—to reconcile Professor Wickremasinghe's translation of the Sinhalese on Side A with the Sanskrit epilogue on Side B, prevented Mr. Gopinātha Rao from definitely assigning the record to its true author—the energetic, but preposterously vain, Monarch who styled himself—to quote the string of his bombastic *birudas*, in full—*Sīri Saṅga Bo Śrī Vira Rāja Niṣṣaṅka Malla Aprati Malla Parākrama Bāhu Chakravartti*

APPENDIX.

By T. A. GOPINĀTHA RAO.

The six lines edited below close a Sinhalese Slab Inscription at Poḷonnaruwa, the first half only (Side A) of which has been published in Volume II (pp. 179-184) of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*" by Mr. Wickremasinghe.

These lines run on from the *Sinhalese* text on Side B, and are written in the *Grantha* alphabet of the 13th Century A.D.

Of this portion (lines 23-28) of the epigraph the language is *Sanskrit*.

It records that the King "*Parākrama-bhuja*" (=Parākrama Bāhu) granted to a certain individual named "*Vijaya*" mansions, etc., for his enjoyment and that of his descendants so long as the moon and the sun shall

endure. Further, the King exhorts future generations to protect this benefaction of his. The King himself is described as one whose mind was agreeable to the renunciation of sovereignty; and the person Vijaya as one who was respected by the wise men (of the State), who was great, and who bore great loyalty (to the interests of his Sovereign).

The long Sinhalese record (Side A, lines 1-37; Side B, lines 1-22) must naturally be much fuller in details.

Accepting Mr. Wickremasinghe's version of the Text and his Translation, Side A informs us that Parākrama Bāhu (the Great), who was born in the lineage of the first Vijaya, son of Siṅha Bāhu, brought the Island of

²⁶ Lines 19, 20 Mr. Jaya-ékara suggests:—*Manu-kūta* or (*Manu-nāga*) *hitayan*; and *sukruṇyan*, *sunithayan*, *sunithayan* as alternatives for *sukratayan*.

²⁷ Plate I C. lines 18-25.

²⁸ The death of this lamented scholar occurred in India whilst the present Paper was going to press. Mr. Gopinātha Rao's contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica* marked him out so conspicuously that the Ceylon Government had already entrusted to his able editing all *Tamil Inscriptions* so far brought to light in this Island, and remaining unedited.

Laṅkā under his single sovereignty ; that, having no sons, Parākrama Báhu sent for his sister's son (*bēnā*) from Siṅhapura (the Capital of Kāliṅga), and appointed him as his successor ; that, when Parākrama Báhu died, Vijaya Báhu was accordingly anointed King ; that, the day after his accession, some treacherous Ministers tried to dethrone him; but a faithful General named Vijaya-yān-ten-nāvan suppressed the rebellion and restored order ; finally, that in gratitude for the services rendered by the Chief, King Vijaya Báhu bestowed on him " heritable lands with certain privileges, described on Side B, lines 1 to 22, which end with the usual clause to the effect that the regulations so enacted should be preserved." Of Side B Mr. Wickremasinghe published no Plate, or partial transcript.

Mr. Wickremasinghe, identifies the Parākrama Báhu mentioned in the Siṅhalese text with Parākrama Báhu I, also known as "the Great," and the Siṅhapura Prince, his *bēnā*, with his sister's son Vijaya Báhu II, mentioned in the *Mahāvāṇsa*.

But the Sanskrit lines of the Inscription seems to clash with this.

In them the donor of the grants is "*Parākrama-bhuja*" of the Kāliṅga-chakravartti dynasty, and not Vijaya Báhu as we have to gather from Mr. Wickremasinghe's rendering of the Siṅhalese portion. And, as at the time the grants were made, Parākrama Báhu the Great was dead, we have, apparently to arrive at this, the only inference possible—presuming there be no flaw in the printed Text and Translation—viz. that Vijaya Báhu was also known by the name of "*Parākrama-bhuja*." From other sources, such as the *Mahāvāṇsa* we do not know whether he ever bore this latter name.

The *Mahāvāṇsa* records that a certain Mahinda of Kāliṅga assassinated Vijaya Báhu

(II) and ascended the throne and occupied it for only five days. Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka, a descendant of the race of the Kāliṅga-chakravarttis, who was a sub-king under the deceased Vijaya Báhu (II), put the usurper to death and himself ascended the throne.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell informs me that this King Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka Malla bore in his Inscriptions, (e.g., *inter alia*, the *Galpota*²⁹ at Poḷonnaruwa) the rather lengthy title—consisting of his name proper and *birudas*—*Siri Saṅga Bo Kāliṅga Parākrama Báhu Vīra Rāja Niṣṣaṅka Malla Aprati Malla*.

In attempting to identify this latter King with the donor of the gifts in the Inscription, we are beset with difficulty.

The points in his favour are :—

- (i) He belonged to the Kāliṅga Chakravartti dynasty, as stated in the Inscription.
- (ii) Further, he bore the name Parākrama Báhu.

On the other hand, there are undoubtedly points too against the identification. They are :—

- (i) He was not a Vijaya Báhu (who as the Siṅhalese portion, *teste* Mr. Wickremasinghe, informs us), was the donor. There is nowhere any suggestion about Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka Malla, *alias* Parākrama Báhu, possessing a third name, Vijaya Báhu.

- (ii) We have no statements in the *Mahāvāṇsa*, and like works, that there was a conspiracy against Kīrti Niṣṣaṅka Malla, and that in consequence he was temporarily dispossessed of the throne, which he was helped to regain by a Chief of the name of Vijaya-yān-ten-nāvan.

There would, therefore, seem to be undeniable confusion which needs to be cleared up, before the Siṅhalese and Sanskrit parts of the Inscription can be reconciled.

29. Compare lines 2-7 of Niṣṣaṅka Malla's *Galpota* Inscription with lines 8-22 Side A of the present Inscription,

Transcript.³⁰

23. *Śrī-Kāliṅga-nṛīpa(h) Parākra(ma)*
bhujaḥ prā-
 24. *(jñā) dṛit(āyā) (graṇi)śchhatra(tyā)*
ga(ma)nā varā-
 25. *ya Vijaya-khyātā(ya bhō)gān varā-*
 26. *n [] saudhādīn-ati-pakshapāta-*
vi-dhayē(ta)-
 27. *dvaṇṣya-bhōgyān-adāch-chantrākkā-*
vadhi³¹
 28. *tāṇstatthaiva nṛivarā rakshantu*
nītavrētā³² []³³

Translation.

"The prosperous and paramount Kāliṅga King, *Parākrama-bhuja* (*Parākrama Bāhu*), whose mind was inclined to renounce Kingship, gave mansions, etc., for his enjoyment and that of his descendants, so long as the moon and the sun endure, to *Vijaya*, who was respected by the wise, who was mighty, and who possessed great loyalty towards (his Sovereign).

May these (gifts) be protected by the best among men."

30. From an ink impression and photograph supplied by Mr. H. C. P. Bell

31. Read *Chandrarikāvalhi*.

32. The correct form of this word cannot be made out.

33. Metre, *Sardūlavikṛitita*. At the foot of the slab are faintly apparent figures of *cow* (above) *dog* (below) to right (proper left) of a *man(?)*



THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

BY REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. IV, Part III, Page 156).

IX. MANÁR AND GALLE.

CHRISTIAN writers loved to call Manár the island of Martyrs, because of the six hundred proto-martyrs of Ceylon who there laid down their lives for the faith with great constancy. But that was only the first episode of a longer martyrdom which gave Manár another claim to that title.

The history of that island in Portuguese times is a pitiful tale, and shows the worst features of Portuguese administration. Plague and famine periodically thinned the population, while the rapacious officials preyed on the hapless Christians and harassed the Missionaries. The latter warmly espoused the cause of the Christians, and were therefore hated and persecuted by their own countrymen; but their bitterest trial came when even the ecclesiastical authorities fell foul of them. Yet, in spite of pestilence and persecution, the Jesuits laboured in Manár for a longer period than anywhere else in Ceylon. Their mission was at one time a flourishing organisation; at another, a desolate ruin. They were once powerful enough to supervise the Pearl Fishery in the interests of the Christian Paravars; at another time, they were ignominiously turned out of their churches under ecclesiastical censures, because they befriended the self-same Paravars; but, though the mission waxed and waned in this

way, it was never abandoned till the Hollanders ousted the Portuguese for good.

It was through St. Francis Xavier that Christianity was first introduced into Manár. The story of that event is enthusiastically related by many writers.¹⁹²

"Of those who invited Xavier to carry the light of the Gospel to distant countries," writes Bartoli, "the most worthy, not merely of being mentioned but even of being envied, were the people of Manár, the first example and masters of patience and heroic fortitude, in this church of the East, for in their case to receive baptism and to shed their blood, to be born to Christ and to die for Christ, were, as it were, one and the same thing. So fast do the fruits ripen when it pleases God to bless the seed, that those who yesterday were idolaters become Christians today to be martyrs tomorrow."¹⁹³

Recent and more critical is the following description of a modern French writer.¹⁹⁴

"While Francis Xavier was returning with Mansilhas to Cape Commorin from Goa he met the Sinhalese Princes at Cochin. When he reached his destination he was absorbed with the care of the Christians. Then the war of the Badagas broke out. It was at its highest when, towards the end of August, his attention was again drawn to Ceylon; this time to the island of Manár and the kingdom of Jafanapatam.

"Manár is a tract of low-lying land, six leagues long and one broad, forming the last link, towards the east, of Adam's Bridge, the chain of rocks which connects the mainland

192. All the biographers of St. Francis Xavier, and Historians of Missions, Du Jarrie *Histoire des choses plus memorables* i.c. 10; Bartoli *Asia*, i, n. 45, & *Dei Fatti della Compagnia di Gesù Memorie Istoriche*, i, pp. 115-116; Sousa. *Oriente Conquistado*, i, 145; give long accounts, practically the same.

193. Bartoli, *Dei Fatti della Compagnia di Gesù L'Asia*, i, lib. i. p. 134.

194. A Brou, *Saint Francois Xavier* (Paris, 1912), i, pp. 297-297.

with the large island. Jafanapatam lies to the north, in the coral archipelago which constitutes the extreme point of Ceylon. All this region had recently been wrested from the Kings of Cotta by Malabar invaders. The Rajah who had usurped the throne lived isolated from his neighbours by forests and sandy plains. He kept a sharp look-out on the high seas, was the terror of the navigators, and exacted the right to wreck of sea from shipwrecked sailors. In 1543 Don Martin Alfonso de Sousa, cruising in those parts, had settled some long-standing accounts with him, and had threatened to wage war on him unless he paid tribute. The Prince, who had no allies abroad and was hated at home, realised that he was menaced on every side, and gave in, paying large sums of money and restoring some pieces of artillery. Thereupon the Governor left. For some time the relations between the Portuguese and the King appear to have been of a peaceful character. He was on good terms with the Captain of Negapatam. But what was lying hid under that surface tranquillity?

A Movement Towards Christianity.

"A movement towards Christianity was showing itself at this time among certain inhabitants of the coast. The Franciscans had probably visited those parts. At any rate relations were particularly frequent between the people on the two sides of the Gulf of Manár. The north of Ceylon is inhabited by Tamils. The fishermen of Manár¹⁹⁵ could not be ignorant of what was going on among their fellows the Paravars, the labours of the '*Santo Padre*,' his preaching and miracles. They knew that it was to their advantage to place themselves under the protection of the Portuguese. In the course of August they sent letters to the Saint that they too wished to become Christians. The Badaga invasion was then at its worst. Xavier could not go, nor could he withdraw any of his assistants. However, at the first respite, he remembered the Manár folk, and Mansilhas received orders to proceed northwards to baptise the fishermen around Ramnad and to cross over to the island. The Father thought that the Captain of Negapatam would use his influence with the Rajah of Jaffna to protect the Christians. Alas! he knew neither

the Rajah nor the Captain. The renewal of hostilities probably prevented Mansilhas from carrying out the programme, but two or three months later, at the time when the Saint was betaking himself to Travancore, a native priest was on his way to the island.

"The conversion was easy work. 'To those whom he sent forth,' says Father Sousa, 'Xavier used to communicate something of his own spirit, as we have seen in the case of the children of the Fishery.' This priest, therefore, entered upon his ministry with so much zeal and fervour that, within a short time, he instructed and baptised a great part of the inhabitants. But it was easy to foresee that this conquest would not pass unopposed by the Rajah. To him, passing over to Christianity meant going over to the Portuguese. Was he at the time aware of the difficulties in the North of India, which would necessarily detain the Governor and his fleet about the Gulf of Cambay? At any rate, the revolts in the kingdom of Cotta, the impunity with which his rival and neighbour had shed Christian blood and defied the Portuguese, certainly encouraged him to act. It was soon done. The priest must have left somewhere in September-October, 1544. In the month of January the Christians were engulfed in a wholesale massacre.¹⁹⁶

"On hearing of the conversions the King sent his troops with orders to ravage everything with fire and sword. Six hundred neophytes were put to death at Patim. One after another they were given the choice between apostacy and martyrdom. These Christians, converts of yesterday, who had been summarily instructed, but in whom the grace of the sacrament was working with marvellous efficacy, chose death rather than apostacy. Mothers proclaimed that their children, who were too young to speak, were Christians like themselves, and died with them."

News of this tragic event was carried to Europe by the vessels that left India in January, 1545. In that year Xavier visited Manár in person. At the time a severe pestilence was ravaging the island, carrying off its victims at the frightful rate of a hundred a day. When the people of Manár, Christians and

195. '*Les pêcheurs Cinghalais*' says Brou. De Queyroz likewise (p. 317) speaks of the *Ghingalas* of Manár, but has been quite rightly neglected in the *Portuguese Era* (i, 166).

196. Among the martyrs was Vracinga, tributary chieftain of Manár. "Tinba ali posto Vracinga, e pr. ser Principe tributario, lhe cabia bem este nome, q' qr. dizer: Leão pequeno; e foy taõ ditozo, q' entre os ms., padecio pla. Fé. "*Conq* p. 317. Cf. *Port Era*, i, 166.

pagans, heard of the arrival of Xavier, they besought him to have pity on their sufferings . . . After three days' prayer, according to the testimony of Joao de Mello de Sampayo, the Saint obtained from God the complete cessation of the plague,¹⁹⁷ a circumstance which greatly increased the number of Christians; for at the sight of so evident a prodigy, many embraced the faith of Christ and were baptised.

Little, however, is known of these Christians till 1560, when the Jesuit Mission of Manár saw its beginning. In that year Don Constantine de Braganca took possession of Manár. According to De Queyroz,¹⁹⁸ Manár was then ruled by a tributary chieftain named Mahata, a successor of the martyred Urasingha. As a loyal vassal of the King of Jaffna, Mahata made ready to defend Manár. With 3,000 men and supported by a couple of pieces of artillery and some muskets, he awaited the Viceroy under cover of some ramparts. His gallant attempt to check the invader was a failure, his followers were dispersed and he himself killed. Thereupon, on the advice of his council, Braganca determined to build a fortress in Manár, with the intention of settling there a colony of Christians from Punicael. The fortress was built of stone and clay, and the Viceroy wrote to the Captain of the Fishery, Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, asking him to bring over the Christians of the Fishery. In his letter, given *in extenso* by De Queyroz,¹⁹⁹ Braganca expressed his resignation at the disappointing result of his expedition against Jaffna, as such had been the will of God. Manár, he said, was a land hallowed by the holy martyrs and by the labours and miracles of St. Francis. He also pointed out that the proposed settlement would offer the people abundance in place of want, security in place of danger, and prosperity in place of misfortune. It would

therefore, be a piece of ingratitude to God to refuse such a refuge as Manár offered them. Such a transfer would also be greatly to the service of the King, for it would thus be possible to keep up the Fishery and secure the welfare of their souls at the same time.

The Paravars.

This letter reached the Fishery along with another²⁰⁰ addressed to the Christian Paravars, which was read to them by their Kanakkapulles. Though the Paravars were naturally reluctant to leave their sands and thorny thickets, they were nevertheless persuaded by the Captain to consent to the emigration. The fear of the neighbouring Badagas, who had often ill-treated and killed them, and the dread of the forces of Bismi Naique,²⁰¹ Lord of the Coasts, who had recently attacked Punicael with an armed force, pleaded not a little in favour of the proposal. The Badagas attempted to prevent the escape of their prey, but their efforts were unavailing, and the Captain made ready to take over the settlers in the ships which the Viceroy had despatched in charge of Pero de Lemos. Two Jesuits, Henry Henriquez and John Mesquita, were ready to accompany the Christians; but before they could embark, an army of Badagas appeared on the scene to make another attempt to prevent the emigration.²⁰²

The Captain and the soldiers engaged the foe while the Paravars embarked in all haste, and succeeded in getting safely on board, though in the hurry and precipitation a few were drowned. When the Christians had all embarked the Captain ordered his men to make for the boats which were held in readiness for the purpose. The two Fathers had remained on shore to see the Christians safely on board, and were awaiting the soldiers. Unfortunately for the Portuguese, the boats were too heavily laden and there was no help

197. Brou, *op. cit.* i, 322. Cross, *St. Franc. Xavier*, ii, 391; *Process* 1616, n. 90. *Orient. Conquist.* i, 149.

198. *Conquista*, 317 & sqq. I have availed myself of the translated extracts of the *Conquista* appearing in the *Portuguese Era*.

199. *Conq.* 317-318, *Port. Era*, i, 166-167.

200. *Conq.* 318.

201. Naique Vichuva, *Orient. Conquist.* i, 193. Besse, *La Mission du Maduré* 388. Viswanatha Naik, son of an officer of the King of Vijayanagar, was the founder of the Naik dynasty of Madura. He established himself King of Madura in 1559. About Badagas, see *Conq.* pp. 307-310.

202. Du Jarric, *Liv.* 2, ch. 8, p. 402. Courtenay, *Histoire du Christianisme à Ceylan*, 230 . . . According to other writers (Souza, followed by Besse), this took place a short time before the emigration, on the occasion of the attack of Vichuva Naique.

but to wait for the tide. The Badagas perceived this and profited by the opportunity to attack the boats. The Portuguese, taken at a disadvantage, defended themselves as best they could, till, finally, they were overpowered and captured. Meanwhile, the two Jesuits jumped into the sea and tried to escape. Fr. Henriquez succeeded, but his companion fell into the hands of a party of the Badagas. The Captain and his men ransomed their lives and left for Manár with Fr. Henriquez and another Jesuit, Louis de Govea,²⁰³ leaving the unfortunate Fr. Mesquita, of whose whereabouts they were ignorant, to his fate.

When the emigrants arrived at Manár the Portuguese were busy erecting the fortress under the supervision of the Viceroy himself. They were received with great ceremony. The Bishop set out to meet them preceded by a cross; and after thanking them for the service they had rendered the King, and for the pleasure they had given the Viceroy, he gave them his blessing, and in a long address dwelt on the great goodness of God in bringing them to a land where could still be seen the signs of those brave martyrs who had given up their lives for Christ. Hardly had the Bishop finished his address when the Viceroy appeared to greet them without any formality, and as the procession went past, he stood by his horse and, taking a little child in his arms, led it on the animal to the church. He rendered high honours to Coutinho to whom he entrusted the fortress;²⁰⁴ and, on receiving homage from him, urged on him the importance of safeguarding and developing the same, declaring that it was a matter of greater importance than his own conquest.

Meanwhile, Fr. Mesquita escaped from his prison with the aid of a Christian boy named Miguel, and together with him arrived

in Manár after sundry adventures. The Viceroy received him with transports of joy, and richly rewarded the brave lad to whom the Father owed his escape and who had shared the Father's captivity and perils.²⁰⁵

The care of the Christians of Manár was entrusted to the Franciscans and Jesuits. The former immediately began the construction of the church of the Mother of God, and the latter built themselves a Residence. The Franciscans, however, did not remain long, but after a few years gave up the field entirely to the Jesuits,²⁰⁶ who set themselves to the work of evangelisation in right earnest. In the course of a couple of years, 1561-1562, over a thousand pagans were led to the Faith by an enterprising Jesuit named Jerome Vaz.²⁰⁷ He is also said to have effected much needed reform among the Portuguese soldiery, whose lives were often a scandal to the new Christians.

Activities of the Jesuits.

In 1563 the new mission had to face the first of a long line of trials; for a severe plague broke out in Manár, and over 4,000 persons succumbed. The Jesuits did their best to relieve the suffering and assisted the patients to the end with great devotion and charity. This dread visitation alarmed the Paravars. War and famine they were accustomed to in the Fishery Coast, but plague they dreaded, and took this occasion to return to their mother country²⁰⁸ for which they had been hankering. The Jesuits who came with the emigrants probably went with them, for the number of Jesuits stationed in Manár was very small in 1566, when the Bishop of Cochin visited Manár in the course of a pastoral tour. The prelate was accompanied by Fr. Melchior Nunez, and they found only two Jesuits in Manár,²⁰⁹ one

203. This Father is mentioned by Courtenay only (p. 239.)

204. *Conq.* 319; *Port. Era.* 1, 168. According to the *Oriente Conquis.* (i, 194) & Besse, *op. cit.* 390. Jorge de Mello de Castro was the first Captain of Manár.

205. *Orient. Conq.* Besse, Courtenay, "Les deux fugitifs, à moitié morts de faim et les pieds ensang, atteignirent enfin la mer, juste à un point où un bateau Paravar faisait voile pour Manar. Les Paravars du bateau habillèrent le Père le plus honnêtement qu'ils purent. Arrivé à Manar, le Père put à peine être reconnu dans son accoutrement. Ce fut un enthousiasme indescriptible parmi les Portugais lorsqu'ils eurent entendu le récit de sa captivité et de sa miraculeuse délivrance. Ils le portèrent comme en triomphe au Viceroy. L'enfant instrument de la délivrance fut dûment récompensé par le Viceroy et les nobles de l'endroit, et une somme de 2,000 fanons lui fut assignée sur la première pêche qui suivrait." Besse, 390.

206. *Conq.* 319 *Port. Era.* i, 163; *Orient. Conq.* i, 194.

207. *Orient. Conq.* i, 195; Courtenay, 244; Besse, 391.

208. *Ib.* Os Careás se deixaram ficar em Manár.

209. *Orient. Conq.*, ii, 144, Courtenay, 258; Besse, 392.

looking after the Portuguese soldiers, and the other in charge of the native Christians. The Bishop was not at all pleased to see so few missionaries in so large a field, and did not disguise his displeasure then, nor fail to charge the Jesuits with it afterwards.

In spite of this discouraging feature the Bishop made up his mind to found an institution for Tamil studies in Manár. The proposal was to endow a College and man it with Jesuits engaged principally in the study of Tamil.²¹⁰ The plan had the hearty support of the Viceroy and of the Captain, George de Mello. A site was chosen, and the Bishop even left a small sum of money for a beginning. But in the following year Manár was abandoned in favour of Punicael, which was found to be better adapted for the purpose. Fr. Henriquez became the first Professor, with a Brahmin convert, Pero Louis, for assistant. It was at this Jesuit College that the first Tamil type was cast by Fr. Joao de Faria,²¹¹ who there printed several Tamil books.²¹²

At this time, according to some writers, a Jesuit College was founded in Manár;²¹³ but this is a mistake, for the Jesuit letters state distinctly that there was no College in Manár. It was the mission of the Fishery that was reorganised at this time. This change was due to certain complaints made to Portugal about the exactions of the Portuguese officials. These exactions and the oppression of the Captain of Manár form the chief topic of the letters of this period. The pearl fishery was held under the protection of the Captain of Manár, and worked by the Paravars under the supervision of the Jesuits. It was the Captain's duty to guard the fishery and to receive the royal dues. Had he done this, there would have been no need for any Jesuit supervision; but the Captains were out to make a fortune on their own account, and tried to make it at the expense of the divers, who thereupon turned

to their pastors for help against the oppressor.

Thus, the Jesuits of the Fishery coast and Manár were called upon, by force of events, to play a strange part in conducting the pearl fishery. There is under any circumstance something incongruous in the very idea of the members of a Religious Order mixing themselves up in a public manner with what was purely a commercial affair. But this is not all. The role which the Jesuits undertook to play in the interests of their Christians brought them nothing but ill-repute, then and now. It brought them into endless trouble with the Portuguese authorities, and even those for whose sake they did it at one time turned against them. Above all it exposed them to the charge of self-interest, which the disinterested officers of his Portuguese Majesty, who were thus thwarted from fleecing the divers, did not fail to make. Some of the higher officials of the time found it as useful to believe these charges as certain writers of these days,²¹⁴ though for different reasons.

The Jesuits and the Pearl Fishery.

The Paravars who worked the pearl fishery became Christians largely through the labours of the Jesuits, from Xavier downwards. As Christians they came under the protection of the King of Portugal, who, in his capacity as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, claimed to control and regulate the Indian Missions. The appointment of the missionaries of the Fishery Coast lay in his hands, for it was his duty to provide ministers of the Gospel and the funds needed for their maintenance. The missionaries thus entrusted with the spiritual care of the Fishery Coast were the Jesuits, and the King levied tithes on the pearl fishery to pay the upkeep of the mission. The amount paid to the Jesuits, from the proceeds of the fishery, amounted in 1554 to 150 *pardaos* a year.²¹⁵ The Christians

210. "Desejou muito o Bispo fundar aqui um Collegio com bom numero de sujeitos que se applicassem com particular cuidado á lingua Tâmul largamente dilataâda pelos paizes confinantes; assim como na Ilha de Chorrão se havia aberto uma escola da lingua Canarina, donde resultavam mais copiosas conversões." *Orient. Cong.* ii, 144.

211. *Ib.* p. 155; Besse, 393.

212. In 1578 were printed *Flos Sanctorum, Christian Doctrinæ, A Manual for Confessors*, and other books to aid the Missionaries to learn Tamil. "Admiraram aquellas Provincias a nova invenção, e assim Christãos como gentios buscavam e estimavam muito os livros impressos." *Orient. Cong.* ii, 157. "D'aucuns prétendent que les caractères tamouls furent fondus à Punicael, mais les livres furent imprimés à Cochim." Besse, l.c.

213. Sousa, Courtenay, Besse.

214. e. g. D'nevers, about whom see Besse, p. 435;

215. *Port. Era*, ii, 70.

soon realised that it would be far better and more advantageous, as it was more gratifying, if, instead of paying a tax, they were allowed to contribute directly to the support of their pastors, which they were willing and eager to do. This request was granted them, according to Fr. Goncales, in 1567.²¹⁶ The tithe was abolished and the Paravars maintained their clergy, taking no small pride in carrying out their obligations.

They were also subjected to another tax to meet the expenses of guarding the fishery,²¹⁷ including the pay of the Captain and the subordinate officers engaged in the work. This seemed fair enough. But a fishery was not held every year, but every year they were taxed. To tax then when there had actually been no fishery seemed "a cruel injustice, which was a grave scandal not only to the Christians but even to the Moors and pagans."²¹⁸ The divers, therefore, petitioned the king against the practice, and the Jesuits suggested "that either the divers should not be compelled to pay except when there was actually a fishery, or that the payment should be a fixed sum sufficient to cover the actual expenditure involved in the maintenance of two *catures* and thirty men."²¹⁹ King Sebastian, thereupon, suspended the tax till he made inquiries into the justice of the complaint, and wrote²²⁰ to the Viceroy, Don Louis Ataide, to that effect in 1570. It was well that the tax was suspended, for that year the Fishery Coast fell a prey to a famine that devastated the country and put the Jesuits to great trouble to relieve the distress even in some measure.

But the King's inquiries did not lead to the desired result, for the grievance remained, and formed the most frequent ground of complaint. This was, however, not their only grievance, nor the worst. What they and their pastors complained of, most of all, was that the divers were habitually and cruelly

robbed of their gains by unscrupulous Portuguese. Hence, when a fishery was held, some Jesuits accompanied the divers to see that they got fair play. Sometimes the Superior went in person, as his influence and tact was often needed to "maintain peace, and to avoid the quarrels which did not fail to arise when so large a multitude of different races gathered together."²²¹ When matters came to such a pitch that recourse to law became necessary, it was the Superior of the Jesuits who defended the cause of the Christians before the civil tribunals. "The judges are all on the side of the royal ministers, and none at all for the poor Christians," mournfully observes a missionary. The other Jesuits who accompanied the divers, generally two, went in a purely spiritual capacity, to say Mass on Sundays and Feast days, and to administer the sacraments to the sick and the dying.

The Pearl Fishers.

When the day's fishing was over "the fishers, with the Captaine and Soldiers, laborers and Watchmen of the King, goe together, and taking all the perales that are caught that day, they divide them into certain heapes, that is, one part for the King, an other part for the Captaine and the Soldiers, the third part for the Iesuites, because they have their Cloyster in that place and brought the countrie first into the Christian Faith, and the last part for the Fishers, which is done with great Iustice and equalitie" (Linschoten, 11, 134). This does not mean four *equal shares*, as *The Portuguese Era* hastily assumed (ii, 74), nor was the distribution conducted with such "Iustice and equalitie" as Linschoten has left recorded. The cupidity of the Captains was insatiable.

"The officers of the King," says an Annual Letter, "are not satisfied with claiming what is due to his Majesty. They resort to violence and injury in order to enrich themselves. And as the Christians appeal to the Fathers against these wrongs, the Fathers are not 'in the odour of sanctity' with the officers of the King. They complain that the Fathers

216. *Orient. Cong.* ii, 156; Besse, 395.

217. Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

218. "Queixaram-se os annos passados á piedade del-Rei D. Sebastião os Christãos da Pescaria, de os obrigarem seus ministros na India a pagar dizimos dos aljofres, ainda nos annos em que os não pescavam, intoleravel injustiça, de que recebem gravissimo escandalo, não so os Christãos, mas também os mouros e gentios." *Orient. Cong.* ii, 143.

219. *Port. Era*, ii, 69.

220. *Orient. Cong.* i. c. Courtenay, 253.

221. Besse, 450.

hamper the interests of the King, and put obstacles in the way of justice. If they said only this the evil were not so great. What is worse is that they write a good deal more than they say, and try to make the Fathers perfectly odious. All the fault of the Fathers lies in this, that they do not tolerate the injustice of the officials. It is hard for the shepherd to see his flock torn by the wolf and not cry 'Wolf,' for fear of offending the wicked. All we can say is this: the officers consider it a misfortune that we protect our Christians; it would be as great a misfortune to the Christians to let them be devoured by these wolves."²²²

Mutual recriminations thus went on apace, and the result was as disastrous to the coffers of the King as to the divers who lived by the fishery. They often refused to work "preferring to forego their gains rather than fall into the hands of the Captains." "The Jesuits pointed out that it was because the Captains oppressed the divers for their private benefit that the men refused to work, the Captain retorted that the divers refused to work through laziness." And in consequence no fishery was held for several years at a stretch. Thus matters went on from year to year, and the chief loss fell to the King and the discredit to the Jesuits. The latter had much to suffer from calumny and ingratitude, as well as from persecution, lay and clerical. In fact, matters came to such a pass that even the Paravars sided against them. This was too much for the poor missionaries, and the Superior of the Fishery tried to persuade the General of the Society to abandon the missions of the Coast which brought them so much trouble and so great discredit in return for so little good. Thus in 1638, when the fishery was resumed after a break of about thirty-three years and began to pay, the Jesuits were so much maligned that the Provincial wrote to the General:

"The Fathers are so afflicted that they are all of opinion that the best thing to do is to hand the churches over to others. They consider it impossible to keep them in the teeth of the clerics, who covet them, and the Captains, who can not bear the Society and

are constantly denouncing us to the Viceroy. We have to spend our time in defending ourselves against these calumnies, to which the Paravars are now the first to subscribe. To tell the truth, I consider the state of affairs beyond remedy. The Fathers say that they have no peace. For my part I can not understand why the Society persists in keeping these churches in spite of the animosity of the ecclesiastical and secular powers, as well as of the Paravars themselves. The world does not believe that it is out of virtue that we keep the Coast; it accuses us of keeping it out of temporal interests, especially on account of the pearl fishery. I therefore propose to go over to Travancore which is badly in need of labourers. There, a single Father has to look after ten or twelve churches. We can do good there and do it noiselessly . . .

"Why should we go against the current? Did not Our Lord say if they persecute you in one place flee to another, and shake the very dust from your feet? Did not St. Francis himself order Ours to quit Malaca? All the Fathers of the Province are of this opinion. It was the opinion of all the Provincials who were my predecessors; but no one dared to carry it out because of the 'What will they say of it in Rome.' May God deign to open your eyes. It is my conviction that, if your Paternity and the Assistants were here on the spot and felt the situation, you would instantly renounce the Coast. But Rome is very far, and few speak their mind frankly to your Paternity. They think it a point of honour to keep up a mission begun by the great Xavier, but if he returned to earth, he would not hesitate to abandon the Fishery Coast, to shake the very dust from his feet, and to send the Fathers somewhere else, where there is greater need of them, and where there will be no such calumnies and scandals."²²²

A Terrible Famine.

But to return. In 1570 a terrible famine ravaged the whole Coast, and numbers died of starvation. "Parents sold their children for food, husbands sold their wives, and the elder children sold the younger, and those who had nothing else to sell sold themselves."²²³ The Jesuits were mainly instrumental in alleviating the distress and opened relief homes, and as a consequence a large number of the sufferers embraced Christiani-

²²². *Ib.*

²²³. *Orient Conq.* ii, 148; *Port. Era*, ii, 70.

ty (*Port. Era.* ii, 70) Fr. Henriquez went about collecting alms from the rich to succour the starving people, Christians and pagans, and organised a system of distribution throughout the villages. But alms were as scarce as food, and the Visitor of the Mission saw no help for it but to borrow a large sum of money to relieve the suffering. The money was well spent, and it is recorded,—an interesting detail,—that the Mission had to repay the loan. The pagans were moved by the devotion of the Christian missionaries, and many offered themselves for baptism. The missionaries did not always take these offers at their face value,²²⁴ but sought out the children, especially the dying, with great diligence.

When the famine was over the shameful exactions of the officials again became the principal trouble of the Fathers. Two Jesuits stationed in the fortress of Manár, in charge of the Portuguese, took up the cause of the oppressed Christians with such warmth and defended them so courageously that their lives were no longer safe within the fortress, and they fled to the native Christians.²²⁵ There they were met by Fr. Valignani, the Visitor of the Mission, in 1577. The Visitor could not remedy the evil, and satisfied himself with removing the Fathers from the fort and appointing permanently for work among their protégées. There they did good work, and in 1583 six hundred converts were received into the Church.

It is only in 1583 that we get the first glimpse of the statistics of the mission.²²⁶ There were 43,000 Christians in Manár, with 26 churches in different parts of the island, but only two priests. "It is not an easy matter for so few priests to minister to so large a flock, but the people are very pious and very generous. Recently they gave 3,500

aurei for the relief of the poor. They also contribute for the support of the two hospitals of the Fishery Coast."²²⁷

All this time the King of Jaffna had no intention of letting the Portuguese keep undisturbed possession of Manár, but made several unsuccessful attempts to wrest it from their hands.²²⁸ Nothing daunted by these failures, he was preparing his forces and biding his time to deal a decisive blow. This he attempted in 1590, as is described at length in the Annual Letter ²²⁹ of that year. The Captain of Manár and his men had to accompany the divers when a fishery was held. This was the moment chosen for the attack. Seventy five sail carrying the Jaffna forces appeared unexpectedly in Manár when the coast was thus clear. The Portuguese garrison left behind amounted to only 60 men, and, fortunately for them, a Portuguese vessel manned by another 17 men still remained in the island. Two of the King's vessels made for the Portuguese brig and delivered a vigorous attack. The Portuguese succeeded in holding their own with the loss of only two or three men when another boat, bringing the sick and wounded to land, was sighted. This misled the Jaffnese, who, thinking that the Portuguese boats were coming on the scene, retired in all haste. This was followed by another attempt in 1591, equally unsuccessful, which led to the expedition of Andre Furtado Mendoza.²³⁰ In the course of this expedition Mendoza visited Manár, and it is recorded that, on his return from Jaffna, he distributed largesse freely to the needy Christians of Manár, and even dowered many orphans of the island.²³¹

There is little recorded of Manár in the subsequent years. According to the *Annual Letter* of 1601, the conversion of the island

224. Resultou desta penuria copiosa nesse Para o Ceu. Porque movidos os gentios de tão estreito exemplo de caridade e agradecidos ao grande beneficio que recebem dos nossos operarios, se resolviam facilmente a baptizar-se e muitos houve, que admittidos a Sagrada fonte na hora da morte trocavam logo as misérias e afflicções desta vida pelas furtidões e abundancias do Paraíso. E se nestes podia haver alguma duvida, porque podião pôr algum obstaculo à graça baptismal, ou por falta de Fé, ou por não terem verdadeiro arrependimento de suas culpas passadas, certissimo era o lucro nos meninos innocentes. *Orient. Cong.* ii, 148.

225. *Ib.* p. 157.

226. *Annual Letter*, 1588-89. Extract copied from the MS of the British Museum, p. 587.

227. These two hospitals were erected by Fr Henriquez *Orient Cong.* I, 172, 173.

228. De Queyroz, *Cong.* 339; *Port. Era.* i, 182, 183.

229. Given by Du Jarric, i, 413 et seqq.

230. Also described by Du Jarric. Cf. Danvers. *The Portuguese in India*.

231. Courtenay.

was pretty well advanced. "The mission of the Fishery Coast and Manár, being of long standing, the Fathers are less concerned with new conversions than with confirming the old Christians. They instruct and catechise them, punishing when needed those who stray from the right path. This they do with such gentleness that they are looked upon as 'fathers according to the flesh' rather than as superiors. The conduct of these neophytes put to the blush the more ancient and so-called well instructed Christians of other parts. This year there were 300 baptisms in Manár."²³² The Christians of Manár were not blessed with an abundance of the good things of this world. But the missionaries had inculcated Christian charity, and the richer folk of other parts did not forget their needy brethren. Thus, alms to the value of 1,200 *pardaos* were annually collected on the Fishery Coast for the poor Christians of Manár.²³³

Departure of the Jesuits from Manár.

Ecclesiastically, Manár was looked upon as part of the mission of the Fishery Coast. It was linked with the neighbouring coast by many ties. The pearl fishery was an Indian affair, and the divers of Manár took part in it along with their continental kinsmen, and it was the Captain of Manár who was in official charge of the Fishery. Besides, the people and language were common, and so were the trials and misfortunes. Hence, when the Jesuits were expelled from the Fishery, they had to leave Manár also. A Jesuit remained at Carcel for some time.²³⁴ supporting himself on the proceeds of a property which belonged to the Society; but this was soon taken from his hands, and the last Jesuit left Manár.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from the Mission was due to disagreements between them and the Bishop of Cochin, which took place at a time when the Jesuits were also odious in the eyes of the Portuguese officials. The Bishop thought that the Jesuits encouraged the Paravars to be disloyal to epis-

copal and Portuguese authority,²³⁵ the more so as some of the Jesuit Superiors were Italians, who were little in sympathy with the Portuguese; and hence the blow was intended to hit both the Paravars and the Jesuits, as in fact it did. The rights and wrongs of the matter do not concern us here. It is, however, a relief to add that the disedifying spectacle did not last very long. The Jesuits were expelled in 1608, but in 1611, when the term of office of the Italian superior, Albert Laertio, ended, and a new Provincial was appointed in the person of a Portuguese, Pero Francisco, the way was paved to a reconciliation.

This reconciliation was as open and as whole-hearted as was the rupture, and friendly relations were resumed. But this did not mean that the Jesuits were recalled to their churches. The mission was in the giving of the King, and it was therefore the King's representatives who had to recall the Jesuits; but they were in no hurry to recall the obnoxious Jesuits. The Bishop's action was meanwhile condemned both at Rome and in Portugal, and the King gave orders, 15 February, 1614,²³⁶ to restore the mission to the Society; but royal orders were not much heeded in Portuguese India. India was far from Portugal, and the Indian authorities had ways and means of their own to defer unpleasant commands.

Meanwhile, the new Provincial obtained from the Bishop what the Bishop could give. The house and property of the Jesuits in Manár was given back, and the Bishop also gave the Jesuits the needless permission to build churches in the kingdom of Kandy, and a general pardon to all the Paravars involved in the troubles. This pardon was read publicly in all the churches of Ceylon. In 1616 the Bishop of Cochin²³⁷ resigned his see, and was succeeded by Dom Frey Sebastião, Bishop of Maylapore, who was translated to Cochin.

²³². Besse, 402.

²³³. *Bombay Examiner*, 1911, p. 437.

²³⁴. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Review*, Vol. II, 28

²³⁵. Besse, 415.

²³⁶. *Ib.* 426.

²³⁷. Dom Frey Andreus a Santa Marta (1588-1615).

The Manár Mission.

The once flourishing mission was by this time little better than a deplorable ruin. The Christians were neglected, dispersed, and untaught. There was no pearl fishery, few priests, and little religion, but everywhere was desolation. At last in 1621, thirteen years after the expulsion, and seven years after the King's order to restitute, the mission was given back to the Society by Fernao de Albuquerque. The Jesuit Province of Malabar had in the meantime dwindled considerably, and it could hardly supply the men needed. The Province of Goa came to its rescue, but the Fathers of Goa did not know Tamil, and were therefore useless. Thus, only one priest could be spared for Manár. He arrived there in March, 1621, and set to work as the following record shows :

"On the 28 March, one of the Fathers arrived in the island of Manár. The Christians there had been very much neglected. One of the Missionary's first industries was to rouse them from their apathy by restoring the Office of *Tenebrae* during Holy Week, letting them fire off all their arquebusses after the *Alleluia* on Holy Saturday, and singing a High Mass on Easter day. Two thousand one hundred persons promised to make their confession. To hear them all would be a matter of weeks. As for catechism they humbly confessed they knew nothing of it, but they were willing to learn."

It is easy to teach willing learners, and the good Father seems to have done it in right earnest; for de Rhodes, who visited Manár in 1622, was struck by the good Christians and by the trouble taken by the Missionary in instructing them.²³⁸ The Father went about the island from place to place, saying Mass on Sundays and Feast days in different churches, far from each other, preaching in Tamil, and reaping a plentiful harvest at the cost of great fatigues. But he had his consolations too. A catechumen was taken by the pirates of Malabar who in vain

tried to make her deny her faith. At last she was set free, and came straight to the Father for the long deferred baptism. The feasts of Corpus Christi, Holy Cross, St. Mathew, St. Laurence, and St. Ignatius are mentioned as those which were celebrated with the greatest solemnity, with long and orderly processions and choirs singing the praises of God.

From this time forward the mission made good progress, but the success of the mission of Jaffna eclipsed all else, and the writers of the *Annual Letters* had little to say of Manár except passing allusions to the oft-told persecutions. When the Portuguese Armada arrived at Manár in 1630, the only noteworthy incident recorded is a quarrel between the Portuguese sailors and landsmen. To avoid bloodshed the resourceful Jesuit, who was Chaplain to the Armada, persuaded the officer to start on a cruise.²³⁹

There were generally four or five priests in Manár, one of whom was Superior of the Mission and 'Father of the Christians.' Each priest was in charge of a Residence, which included two or three churches. He visited each of them in turn but resided in the principal church, which was called his Residence. There were at first four such Residences, and later, five, with ten or twelve churches in all. The following account is of 1644, written by the Provincial of Malabar to give the General of the Society an account of the missions in charge of the Jesuits of Malabar.²⁴⁰

The Mission in 1644.

"From Ramanancor 12 leagues to the east is the island of Manár, which is five leagues in length and about one in breadth. In this island we have five Residences, with five Fathers living in them. One of them is Superior, and immediately depends on the Father Provincial; ²⁴¹ he is at the same time the 'Father of the Christians' in the name of His Majesty, to protect their rights in the ecclesiastical Court, as well as before the civil tribunal which sits in the fortress of this island.

238. De Rhodes. *Voyages*, p. 30. *Port. Era.*, i, 511, n. 77.

239. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. III, Part III (Jany., 1918).

240. Translated by Father Besse, and published in the *Catalogus Missionis Madurensis*, 1907.

241. This means that the Mission of Manár was no longer treated as part of the Mission of the Fishery Coast

Residence of the place of the Careas. The Patron of this Residence is the Apostle St. Thomas. 1,200 Christians; 120 children attend catechism, 25 go to school. This Residence counted in better times above 1,800 Christians. Having failed in the past years to take part in the Pearl fishery on account of the little favour they found with the King's Officers, they, little by little, dwindled to their present number.

Residence of San Pedro.—The Patron of this Residence is St. Peter. 970 Christians, 150 children attend catechism, 22 go to school.

Residence of Totavaly.—The Patron Saint is the Apostle St. Andrew. 430 Christians. They are the first who were baptised in this island in the time of St. Francis Xavier, and from among them were the 600 who died martyrs, with the Prince and King of Jafanapatam.²⁴² On account of them this island was called the Island of Martyrs.

Residence of Carcel.—The Patron of this Residence is Our Lady of Piedade. 2,160 Christians; 130 children attend catechism, 30 go to school.

Residence of Our Lady of Good Success.—The Patron of this Residence is Our Lady of Good Success. 490 Christians, 80 children go daily to catechism, 10 go to school. Annexed to it is the church of Taleimanar, at three leagues distance, at the extremity of the island. Patron St. Laurence. 200 Christians. 50 children go daily to Christian doctrine.

Total of the Christians of this Residence 690, of the whole island 5,450, of the children 530."

Some of these churches were richly fitted out. Among the treasures of the church of

St. Thomas was an ornament made entirely of pearls, valued at 2,000 *patacas*. When the island was threatened by the Hollanders, this was shipped away in a dhoney for safety but was captured by the Maravars.²⁴³

The few letters relating to Manár given in the Appendix,²⁴⁴ record little besides the oppression of the Captains of Manár, and edifying stories of the devotion of the Christians. In 1641 they appealed to the Viceroy for redress but nothing came of it. Again, in 1643, a Father was sent to Colombo to report matters to the Captain-General, Don Philip Mascarenhas, as the Christians threatened to leave Manár. The General passed many a *provisão*—as they invariably do—to no effect.

In 1654 the oppressed people made a final attempt to carry out their threat and leave Manár for good, but were dissuaded from it by the missionaries. In that year the Hollanders are said to have made an attack on Manár. The inhabitants fled in terror, some over seas, others to the woods where they awaited events. The Fathers followed the latter and took shelter in the forests. But the attack was unsuccessful and the missionaries returned with the people to find that those who tried to make friends with the Hollanders were taken to Batavia for their pains. The Missionaries piously thanked God that the deserters were none of their Christians.

Manár fell into the hands of the Hollanders on 19th February, 1658, and the Jesuits were probably among the refugees who fled to Jaffna, there to fall into the hands of the inevitable Hollanders.

(To be continued.)

242. This is a mistake—see *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, Part III. (Jany., 1918).

243. De Queyroz, *Conq.* 588 (*Port. Era.* n, 74).

244. [These will be published in the next issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary*—Ed., C.A.]

Notes & Queries.

THE BARNES BUDDHA.

By D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

IN the very interesting note on the above subject by Mr. Herbert White, C.C.S. (Retired), appearing in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. IV, p. 175), he says that the silver image of the Buddha referred to by the Rev. James Selkirk in his *Recollections of Ceylon* (p. 531), seems to have been looted from some Buddhist temple in Burma and given to Sir Edward Barnes. The following will show that Mr. White is correct in his conjecture.

Rev. Mr. Selkirk was in Ceylon in the year 1827, but he has not mentioned the circumstances which led to the presentation of the image in question to the Daladá Málígáwa at Kandy by the daughter of Sir Edward Barnes. Neither in the most interesting and vivid reminiscences of this 'Prince of Governors' given in the autobiography of the late Major Skinner, nor in those able works of Major J. Forbes, Lieut.-Col. J. Campbell, J. W. Bennett, and Capt. James Steuart—all of whom were contemporaries of Governor Sir Edward Barnes—do we find any reference made to the presentation.

There is, however, a letter by the Hon'ble George Turnour, the Oriental scholar, in an old monthly magazine, entitled *The Friend*,¹ which throws some light on the point. It was addressed to the editor of that magazine by way of refuting certain statements which appeared in an editorial note on the death of Sir Edward² in England. As this letter is from one who had the official custody of the Daladá (Tooth Relic) since 1828,³ and as it would, at this remote date, be of considerable interest, I trust it will not be out of place to quote it in full, adding at the same time a few foot-notes where necessary.

The letter is as follows:—

Sir,—In your number for last month, you state—"in 1828 there was a public exposure of the Daladhātu in Kandy."⁴ On that occasion the whole island was collected together; and in the midst of assembled thousands, Sir Edward Barnes presented, by the hand of his daughter, an offering to the priesthood, in honor of the festival."⁵ On this assumed fact you argue that the people "naturally supposed that it would not have been done unless there had been

1. See Vol. II No. II for August, 1838, pp. 38-40. The first number of this highly interesting periodical appeared in July, 1837, and the last in December, 1845. It was edited by the erudite scholar, the Rev. Robert Spence Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission. (See *Ceylon Miscellany*, Vol. I, No. 1). He was in Ceylon for 40 years. His chief works are *Eastern Monachism*, 1850; *A Manual of Buddhism*, 1853; *Sacred Books of the Buddhists compared with History and Modern Science*, 1863; *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, 1866; *Christianity and Buddhism compared*, (a posthumous work), 1874.

2. From the statue erected to Sir Edward Barnes at the head of Prince Street in the Fort of Colombo, we learn that he died in March, 1838. But in Messrs. A. M. and J. Ferguson's "Pioneers of the Planting Enterprise in Ceylon," No. 1, it is said that he died in October, 1838. (See *Tropical Agriculturist*, Vol. XIII, p. 73). The latter is obviously an error.—See Mr. Lewis' *Tombstones and Monuments*, p. 144.

3. See Turnour's Account of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon, supposed to be alluded to in the opening passage of the Ferozlat inscription, in the *Journal of the A. S. Bengal*, Vol. VI p. 468.

4. It took place on the 25th of May, an event which had not taken place for fifty-three years before. See Major Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 221.

5. The editor based his assertions on the universal exultation among the people returning home from the great night, "full of the liveliest joy that the utumanan-wahansa, (Governor), had made an offering to their great relic."—See *The Friend*, Vol. II, p. 76.

some belief in the divinity of the land's idol"; and you proceed to add "we know of no event in recent times that has done more to strengthen the trammels of Buddhism, or stay the progress of the Christian faith among the Sinhalese and Kandyans." ⁶

I take upon myself to contradict, in the most unqualified manner, the alleged facts of this statement, on which you have erroneously built your conclusions. The Daladá festival, ⁷ though decided upon before my appointment to the Office of Revenue Commissioner in Kandy, did not take place till May, 1828—being three months after my arrival here; and the superintendence of that ceremonial officially devolved on me.

So far from Sir Edward Barnes making an offering, directly or indirectly, on that occasion, he rejected an application, officially preferred through me, by the assembled chiefs, soliciting that, according to the custom observed in the times of their native sovereigns, some land or other gift should be dedicated to the Relic, and he explained, that he founded his rejection on the ground that he would do nothing which could imply identity in the Buddhist faith on the part of the authorities. His Excellency similarly rejected the application that the Military should be ordered to fire the salutes, for that festival. He signified, however, his intention of being present; and stated that if it would gratify them that he should take part in a state ceremonial, to which they attached so much importance, he would do so,—provided that it partook not of a religious character. Sir Edward Barnes handed, in consequence, the Relic from the Chief Priest to the Adikar, who placed it on the elephant ⁸ The contrast of the lowly reverence of the natives,

with the total absence of obeisance on the part of the Europeans, together with the rejection of the application for an offering, precluded the possibility of any impressions, such as you infer, being made at the time.

I am aware that there is a small image in the Daladá Temple, on which is engraved in Sinhalese,—“This image, obtained from Mahandagot Wihare ⁹ in Arrakan in the dominions of Ava, was given by Miss Barnes to the Relic Temple in 1827.” On enquiry (for I was not then in Kandy) I find it was sent with some other curiosities, by an Officer ¹⁰ formerly on Sir Edward Barnes' staff, from the Burmese territories; and that it was kicked about the Pavilion Bungalow for some time, with his infant's other toys,—when (I cannot learn at whose suggestion) she consented to give it up to the Temple. The Chief removed it with some ceremony; and the child, *then not two years old*, accompanied her toy, attended by her nurse alone. It is to a misrepresentation of this child's play, possibly, you are giving importance and circulation in your publication.

I refrain, Sir, from commenting on your selection of this moment to calumniate the character of Sir Edward Barnes—after the lapse of ten years, and though your periodical has been in existence twelve months—when all classes in this Colony are vying with each other to do honour to His Excellency's memory. I do so, in the expectation that this letter will appear in your next number, accompanied by that distinct retraction which truth demands. ¹¹

I remain, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

GEORGE TURNOUR.

Kandy, July 21, 1838.

⁶ There appears to have been—as there will always be—a difference of opinion on this conciliatory measure of Sir Edward Barnes, but there is no doubt that at that time it was generally approved.—See Capt James Stuart's *Notes on Ceylon*, i, 106.

⁷ In 1815 the British became the proprietors of the Daladá. In the rebellion of 1818 it was surreptitiously removed by the priests appointed to officiate at the temple, but was restored. In 1825 for the tranquility of the country it became necessary to keep it in custody. The public exhibition of it in 1828 lasted a fortnight. In 1834 it was privately shown to Sir Robert and Lady Horton and party, amongst whom was the Austrian scientific traveller Baron Von Hügel. In 1847 in pursuance of orders from the Secretary of State, it was given over into the charge of the Priests and Chiefs of the Kandian Provinces. But during the Matalé Rebellion in 1848 it was seized and kept in close arrest.—See Pridham's *Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 225 and Forbes' *Recent Disturbances and Military Executions in Ceylon*, 1850, p. 45.

⁸ Major Forbes was present at the festival and the following is the concluding para of his account:—"In this curious and interesting scene, the rich altar and resplendent ornaments of the relic, were placed under a large temporary building, decorated with fruit, flower, and palm leaves. In the procession which took place previous to the display of the relic, the peculiar and picturesque dresses of the chiefs, the dense masses of the people, and the majestic elephants, threw an air of grandeur over this spectacle, to which the old temples, sacred banyan trees, and the wild and beautiful scenery around, formed an appropriate landscape. These combinations were rendered still more impressive, by the disturbed state of the elements: for an extraordinary gloom, and tempestuous weather, continued during the several days of this festival, and the torrents of rain which fell at that time, caused the loss of many lives, and destroyed much property in different parts of the Island.—See *The Dangistra Dalada*, in *Ceylon Almanac* for 1835, p. 235.

⁹ According to Rev. Selkirk, it is "Rakkaduwe Maha Dāgoha Wihāra" (q.v.). Could it be the *Gōn-daw-dat* referred to in the Yatara bell inscription at the Mahamuni Pagoda situated within 8 miles of the Kaladan River and 48 miles north of Mrohaung, the once famous capital of the Arakanese Kings?—See *Burma Gazetteer, Akyab District*, Vol. A, p. 49.

¹⁰ Captain Forbes.—See *The Friend*, Vol. II, p. 77.

¹¹ Sir Edward Barnes married on July 3rd, 1823, Maria, eldest daughter of Walter Fawkes, Esqr., of Farnley Hall, Yorkshire.—See Mr. J. P. Lewis' *Tombstones and Monuments*, p. 144.

¹² In the editor's comments on the foregoing he says, "No individual in the island rejoices more than ourselves to find that the character of Sir Edward Barnes is freed from the imputation we wrongly cast upon it, in the integrity of our heart," and prefixes the following note to Turnour's letter:—

"We willingly give insertion to the following letter, and so valuable a document do we consider it, that we shall have it translated into Singhalese, and extensively circulated in the Singhalese and Kandian provinces."

THE SAN PEDRO ROUND TOWER IN MANNAR ISLAND.

By SAMUEL HAUGHTON, C.C.S. (Retired.)

[T]HERE is a curious round tower at the village of Sam Peturu or (to anglicize the name), San Pedro in the sub-division of Mannar East in Mannar Island. As it is hardly mentioned in any books treating of Ceylon—in fact Pridham is the only writer of such a work that I know of to refer to it at all,¹ some notes may not be out of place in the *Ceylon Antiquary*.

Pridham says that it was believed to have been erected by early Mahommedan settlers (who brought the baobab trees from Africa), or else by the Portuguese, as a watch tower for noticing the approach of vessels. The following notes on the tower have been sent to me by Mr. Samuel Haughton, C.C.S., retired, who was Assistant Government Agent, Mannar, 1879-83. I myself left the Northern Province rather more suddenly than I expected, and never managed to pay it the visit that I had fully intended.

J. P. LEWIS.]

On two occasions when travelling in the Island on duty, my tent was pitched near it. As well as I can remember, it was not more than ninety or a hundred feet high, and about seven or eight in diameter at the base, tapering to the top.²

It originally contained a rough staircase inside to admit of access to the top. The tradition in Mannar among the old Dutch families was that it had been built about the same time as the Dutch Fort there, to enable the garrison in the latter to be apprised of the approach of sailing vessels from the Coromandel coast of India, desirous of passing through the Straits of Mannar from the northward as well as of vessels passing in the opposite direction from the Malabar coast or Colombo; the object being to facilitate the recovery by force if necessary of the dues fixed by the Dutch Government as payable by all vessels passing through the Straits of Mannar.

At that time the narrow straits dominated by the Dutch Fort, constituted the only passage for native sailing vessels of any size between India and Ceylon, and the dues were probably heavy and the revenue derivable therefrom considerable. In this connection it must be remembered that before the time of the British there was no Straits of Paumben, or rather for ages the narrow straits there could not be used by vessels, owing to the construction of the solid causeway by the Hindu kings of Southern India for the original passage of the procession, accompanied by fanatical suicides, of the Juggernat Car from the temples in Madura to the Hindu temple on Rameswaram Island.

When the British Government put a stop to the procession of the Juggernat Car, the causeway to the Island was demolished, and the Straits of Paumben first became available for navigation between India and Ceylon.

1. All that Mr. W. J. S. Boake says about it in his *Mannar, a Monograph*, published in 1888, is "Sampatturai is only remarkable for an old tower built by the Portuguese. I suppose as a watch tower. It has lately been repaired for triangulation purposes" (p. 68).

2. Mr. G. M. Fowler, also a former Assistant Agent of Mannar (1878-9 and 1883), says in a letter to me: "The material is probably coral-cemented at the top, I think, and possibly beacons were lighted on it, if built by the Portuguese." (12th May, 1917).

At the time of my inspection of the round tower at San Pedro, it was in fair condition outside but the staircase inside had more or less disappeared, the dilapidated shaft being coated with filth and slime and said to be full of snakes. I had it cleaned out and fumigated and managed to climb to the top.

There was a good view all round over the sea to the northward, and also a fair view over the intervening palm trees to the sea at the southern entrance of the Straits, known as the "South Bar."

The whole Island being quite flat, the slight elevation of the tower at San Pedro gave an ample horizon for the detection of vessels approaching both sides of the Straits, more especially towards the north, where the navigable channel from the sea turns at a sharp angle round the Fort into the Straits.

Note on the above by Mr. J. P. Lewis.

With reference to the explanation given by Mr. Haughton of the cause of the opening of the Paumben Channel to navigation, it does not seem to have been in the first instance the action of the Indian Government but that of nature, for on the night of 25 Nov., 1814, there was a terrific cyclone which, besides

causing much damage in the islands of Delft and Iranaittivu and on the coast generally, made a breach in the Paumben reef. The Government Agent of the Northern Province (Mr. R. W. Ievers) in his diary for 25 June 1901, says of this channel, "This led to the ruin of Mannar. For previously all vessels came to the North or South Bar and discharged cargo, which was taken by *dhonies* or *ballams* through the channel, and then reloaded. There was a large village at each Bar: these disappeared when trade was diverted to Paumben, and the importance of the Mannar Fort, as controlling the only channel coastwise north and south."

The breach in the Paumben reef, then made for the first time, was subsequently enlarged by the Indian Government and became the Paumben Channel. It is hardly likely that the Indian Government would have spent a large sum of money on breaking down a useful causeway in order to stop a procession which had already been prohibited. It is clear that the Indian Government had made no breach in it—that was first done by the cyclone. Similarly the cyclone of 16 Oct., 1884, overturned the sea-wall of the "Reclamation" at Jaffna.

ANOTHER NOTE ON MOROWA KORALE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE Gothian of Southern Ceylon is a village called Paragoda in the Morowa Korale, just as Tumpane *pattuwa* is the Boætia of the Central Province. I noticed, when holding inquiries under the Waste Lands Ordinance in the Korale in 1897-1900, that some of the people were very primitive in their ideas and their mental capacities undeveloped. The following instances will exemplify what I mean:

A man asserts that he has five brothers. On further inquiry it turns out that two of them are dead, and that the speaker has included himself among his "brothers."

Another man knows the names of two of his sisters but forgets that of the third.

A third witness has three sisters living but they are all dead. Finally it is elicited that two are living and one dead.

A fourth "used to be related to the claimant" but is not now. In the end he admits that the claimant is his cousin.

A fifth man personates his elder brother, makes the claim under his brother's name, signs that name, and under it is affirmed and gives evidence. All this he freely admits, for it has never occurred to him that in this kind of impersonation he is doing anything irregular, much less criminal.

Another man of the Korale who gave evidence and had lived for some time in

Kandy, was an astrologer by profession and had adopted the name of a Kandyan god (I regret that I have no note of the name) instead of his own. His father who also gave evidence had forgotten the name of his own deceased wife and did not know his son's present name. So he said—on affirmation. This was at Morowaka on 5th June, 1899.

A witness in court (though he was not of Morowa Korale) told me that he did not know his mother's name as she died when he was a child.

KING RÁJÁDHI RÁJA SINHA.

By ROBERT J. PEREIRA.

MR. H. W. Codrington in his introduction to the *Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly* (page I). says that this King was *deposed* in 1798 A.D. I have read several histories of Ceylon and in none of them have I come across that he was *deposed*. I shall be very greatly obliged if you or any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* will let me know, through the Journal, whether the King was actually deposed and in what historical book or document the fact is recorded.

Ásthána Dewiyó.—In the Index (page VI) to *D'Oyly's Diary*, Mr. Codrington says: "Ásthána Dewiyó. Wimala Dharmma, brother of Kings Kírttisşri and Rájádhi," which I have not found in any of the histories of Ceylon.

Hapugaha Kadawata.—Mr. Codrington says, Index page XXXI, *D'Oyly's Diary*: "Hapugaha Kaḍawata. Hapugahagáwá Kaḍawata, gravet close to Piḷḷaiyár Kóvil, Kandy." Whereas *D'Oyly's Diary*, page 253, says: "A Guard of Honour with a Commissioned Officer goes to meet it (Daḷadá Wahansé) at Wellatte with a Band of Music." The "Hapugaha Kaḍawata" was "Kumára Hapuwa"—

a large umbrageous Sapu tree—near the 72nd mile post at Wel-aṭa, where the two Adhikáramwaru and Radalawaru, who may not have accompanied the *Diyakepuma*, meet the returning *Peraheṛa*.

The Piḷḷaiyár Kóvil is close to the 74th mile post in Kandy. The Sapu tree is said to have fallen down about 1820.

Piḷima Talawwé.—Regarding this famous Kandyan chief, who loomed largely between 1798 and 1812 A.D. in the history of the Kandyan Kingdom, a tradition is extant (I heard it from the late Maduráwé Basnáyaka Nilamé), of how the name "Piḷima Talawwé" was derived. At a remote period the ancestor of the Piḷima Talawwé family (a Baṇḍára) and his sister, are said to have set out in a vessel from the Solí Raṭa to Laṅká, but the latter died at sea; the brother's love for her was so great, that he immediately got an image of her made of beaten gold, and consigned the body to the sea. When the Baṇḍára landed and settled in the village, which still goes by his name, he, in order to keep her memory green, gave the village the name of "Piḷima-telewá" (පිළිම තෙලුවා), i.e.,

"Beaten-image." After the lapse of some years, by order of the King, it was changed, for the sake of euphony, into "Piḷima Talawwé." In Lawrie's *Gazetteer* (Vol. i, p. 74, and Vol. ii, p. 886), this Adhikāram Maha Nilamé is called "Urulēwatté Wijayasundara Rājakarunā Seneviratna, Agra Sēnādhipati." One of his later ancestors was Urulēwatté Diyawaḍana Nilamé (*Ibid.* Vol. ii, p. 580).

Diyawaḍana Nilamé.—I may mention that the term "Diyawaḍana Nilamé" is supposed to have had its origin from the highest dignitary in the kingdom holding, amongst other functions, the office of watering the *Srī Mahā Bódhinvahansé* or the sacred Bó-tree at Anurādhapura, when the seat of Government was there.

EARLY BRITISH TIMES IN CEYLON.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

ROBERT ANDREWS. (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 224). Mr. J. J. Cotton writes.—"There is nothing impossible in Andrews having entered the service as a boy of 15 : that was the usual age in those days both for civilian writers and military cadets. Robert Andrews, who in 1768 was member of the Council of the Governor, was possibly his father. And he seems to have had sisters or daughters, for on June 18th, 1795, Henry Taylor, H.E.I.C.S., married at Madras, Miss Charlotte Andrews : and in April, 1813, Edward Atkinson, H.E.I.C.S., Miss Sarah Andrews. This Atkinson was in 1798 Commissary of Provisions at Colombo. So it will be seen that the Andrewses were an out and out civilian family."

John Jervis.—"I cannot find any Madras record of the marriage of Lieut. Brown to Miss Ritso. John Jervis, H.E.I.C.S., married at Madras on June 23rd, 1795, Miss Eliza Ritso, Edward Ritso was at that time a Lieutenant in the 73rd Foot."

I think myself that the probabilities are so great that we may assume that Robert Andrews was son of the Madras Member of Council of the same name, and that he was

educated at Westminster School. As regards Lieutenant Brown and Miss Ritso, see my *List of Inscriptions* under Jervis', quoting the Jaffna Diary. This Miss Ritso was a sister of Mrs. Jervis. John Jervis in one letter to Andrews sends his greetings to Miss Andrews, who was apparently with her brother in Ceylon. As regards E. Atkinson I will send a further note.

Mr. Andrews's Embassy—His Assistants. (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 207.) Mr. Hayavadana Rao refers to one of Andrews's assistants of the name of Alexander. "Josias Du Pré Alexander." This Madras civilian who by the way was maternal grandfather or great grandfather of the late Father Dolling¹ and an Irishman, was undoubtedly in Ceylon while Ceylon was administered from Madras, but my impression is that it was after R. Andrews had returned to Madras. (I have not my notes at hand just now to verify this.) The Alexander who was his assistant at Colombo and Galle, and was appointed by Andrews Superintendent of the Pearl Fishery of 1797, in supersession of John Jervis, was not Josias Du Pré, but Robert Alexander, who also appears to have had "rather a notable

¹ There is a biography of him in the D N B., which states that his mother was a daughter of "Josias Du Pré Alexander M. P." But whether this was the ex-Madras civilian of that name or his son I do not know just now.

after-career." I am unable to give it just now for the reason mentioned, but will return to the subject later. I may add that it was in 1795, not in 1796, that John Jervis was appointed Assistant under the Collector of Jaffnapatam. At least he arrived at Jaffna in December as Andrews's deputy, and opened his "Cutchery," there.

Two Generals James Stuart. (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 216). "S. G. P.'s" extracts from military histories are useful to students of the British occupation, but in his remarks on General James Stuart who led the expedition of 1795, he has combined his career with that of another General James Stuart, "one of the principal persons concerned in the arrest of . . . Lord Pigot." They were quite

different personages. They both appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the biographer of the former General remarks that he is "frequently confounded with the preceding." Major-General James Stuart of the Pigot arrest—he did not rise above that rank—was appointed to the colonelcy of the 31st Foot in 1792. He had been taken back into favour, notwithstanding his differences with Lord Macartney. He fought this duel although he was at the time suffering from his wounds. He died in 1793, and so could not have taken part in the Ceylon expedition. His namesake who was in command of it while a Colonel, died a full General in 1815. The two Generals met at one time during their careers. They both served in Sir Eyre Coote's campaign against Hyder Ali in 1781.



Literary Register.

CEYLON ACCORDING TO DU JARRIC.

Translated from the Original French.

By REV. E. GASPARD, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. IV. Pt. I. Page 18).

Vol. I. Livre II. Chapitre VIII.

Comme les Paravaz allerent re-peupler l'Isle de Manar ; & ce qu'il y a eu de remarquable parmi eux depuis ce temps là.

Après que le Viceroy Dom Constantin, eut rangé au deuoir le Roy de Jafanapatan. & qu'il eut mis vne bonne garnison dans la forteresse qu'il fit bastir en l'Isle de Manar pour le tenir en bride, il aduina qu'il estoit bon de faire passer à la mesme Isle plusieurs de ces Chrestiens qui habitoient en la coste de la Pescherie, tant afin qu'ils pourueussent les Portugais de la garnison de Manar de viures, & autres choses necessaires ; que pour les garantir des allarmes que leur donnoient iournellement les Badages. Car d'un coste ils n'y perdoient rien, faisans eschange d'un pais si sterile, que le leur, avec l'Isle de Manar, qui est fort fertile & abondante en viures : & si le lieu n'estoit pas moins propre pour la pesche des perles, de laquelle principalement ils faisoient estat : car ceste pesche se fait (comme a esté dit) entre ceste coste là & l'Isle de Ceilan : or l'Isle de Manar est entre-deux, n'estant separée de Ceilan que par le moyen d'une riuere. D'autre part ils auroient moyen de viure là plus Chrestienement, & avec plus de repos & assurance, qu'ils ne faisoient en leur pais, estans sous la protection & sauvegarde des Portugais.

.....

Vol. I. Bk. II. Chap. VIII.

Of how the Paravaz went and repeopled the isle of Manar, and of what took place worthy of remark among them since that time.

Having brought the king of Jafanapatan back to a sense of his duty, and having placed in the fortress he had built in the isle of Manar a strong garrison to keep him in check, the Viceroy, Don Constantine, thought it advisable to take over to the same isle a number of those Christians living on the Fishery Coast,¹ both to the end that these should supply the Portuguese of the Manar garrison with provisions and other necessities, as also to protect them from the vexations they had to endure daily from the Badagas. In fact, on the one hand, they lost nothing by the bargain, exchanging a country so sterile as theirs was for the isle of Manar, which is very fertile and rich in crops. The place, besides, was not less favourable to the pearl fishery upon which they particularly set store. Indeed, this fishery is carried on (as has been said) between that coast and the island of Ceylon. Now, the isle of Manar lies between the two, being separated from Ceylon only by a river. On the other hand, being under the protection and safeguard of the Portuguese, they would have means to live there as Christians more easily and with greater tranquillity and security than in their own country.

.....

1. The letter which the Viceroy sent to the Captain of the Fishery, and other details are given by De Queyroz, *Conquista*, 317-318 *The Portuguese Era*, I. 166-168.

Le Pere . . arriua sans autre rencontre sept iours apres sa deliurance à l'Isle de Manar, où estoient le Capitaine & les soldats Portugais, qui auoient esté prius avec luy : mais auoient esté deliurez auparauant. Les autres Chrestiens aussi de la Pescherie, qui estoient allez repeupler l'Isle de Manar estoient là : lesquels furent si aises de la deliurance du Pere, & d'entendre comme il s'estoit sauué, que durant quelques iours ce n'estoit que feste. Et pour recognoistre les bons seruices, que ce ieune homme auoit fait au Pere, ils luy promirent la valeur de deux cens escus en perles, la premiere pesche qu'ils feroient : & cependant l'accoustrerent tout de neuf.

Après que le P. Mesquita fut deliuré de la façon, il s'employa avec le P. Henriques à l'ayde de ces Chrestiens, qui estoient passez à l'Isle de Manar avec plus grande ferueur que iamais.

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En l'Isle de Manar, ou nous auons aussi vn lieu de residence, il y a vne Eglise dediée à nostre Dame, qui est fort frequentée des peuples circonuoisins. Car il plaist à nostre Seigneur y faire souuent paroistre les largesses de sa bonté & misericorde, par l'intercession de sa benoiste mere. Entre autres, enuiron l'an 1590, il y eut vne fême qui auoit perdu la parole depuis cinq ans, mais elle la recouura icy, s'estant deuotement recommandée à la mere du verbe eternal, avec l'estonnement de tout le peuple. Or puis que nous sommes venus à ceste Isle de Manar, il faut traicter ce qui nous reste de la punition du Roy de Iafanapatan, aduenue pour cause de ceste Isle, ainsi que nous deduirons presentement.

[The Badagas tried to prevent the Christians from leaving the Fishery Coast, but only succeeded in capturing the Portuguese Captain² with some fifty soldiers and Father João Mesquita. The Captain and the soldiers were immediately set free on payment of a ransom;³ the Missionary was cast into prison, but made good his escape with the help of a young Christian, and at last reached the isle of Manar. After narrating these events Du Jarric continues :]

Seven days after his deliverance, the Father arrived without further trouble at the isle of Manar, where he found the Portuguese Captain and soldiers who had been taken with him but had been set free before him. The Christians of the Fishery Coast, who had gone over to repeople the isle of Manar, were also there. They were so happy at the liberation of the Father and at the manner of his escape that there were continual rejoicings for several days. And, in order to show their appreciation of the good services that young man⁴ had rendered to the Father, they promised him the value of 200 crowns⁵ in pearls out of their first draught, and meanwhile fitted him out in brand new clothes.

Having escaped in that fashion, Fr. Mesquita devoted himself together with Fr. Henriques with more zeal than ever to the help of the Christians who had passed over to the isle of Manar

In the isle of Manar, where we have also a residence, there is a church dedicated to our Lady which is much frequented by the neighbouring folk. For it is our Lord's good pleasure to manifest there frequently the liberality of his goodness and mercy through the intercession of his Blessed Mother. Among other favours, sometime about the year 1590, a woman who had lost the power of speech for five years recovered it here, to the admiration of all the people, after commending herself with great devotion to the Mother of the Eternal Word. Now, as we have come to this isle of Manar, we must complete the record of the punishment that overtook the King of Jafanapatan in connection with this isle, as we shall presently show.

² Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho. According to other writers (Souza, *O.iente Conq* 2, div. 2, pt. 25-26) this took place earlier August, 1560.

³ The Christians of the Fishery offered the Naik 7,500, according to others 10,000 *paraças* for the captives. Fr. Mesquita, was kept as a hostage, and as the ransom was not paid, he was imprisoned. *O.iente*, pp. 26-27.

⁴ A Paravar boy named Miguel *Ib*.

⁵ 2,000 *fauos*. *Ib*.

Vol. I, Livre II, Chapitre IX.

Comme le Roy de Iafanapatan s'estant rebellé contre les Portugais, & persecutant les Chrestiens, perdit le Royaume & la vie.

Le Viceroy Don Constantin ayant, comme il a esté dit cy dessus, octroyé la paix au Roy de Iafanapatan, moyennant certaines conditions qu'il luy imposa, & que l'autre promit garder; pensoit qu'après cela il n'oseroit leuer plus les crestes, ayant mesmes la forteresse de Manar si pres, & la flotte de dix nauires qu'il auoit laissé là, qui rodoit tout à l'étour de son Royaume. Mais comme il n'y a rien qu'un homme qui a accoustumé de commander, porte plus impatiemment que la contrainte, si tost que le Viceroy eust tourné les espauls, & se fut retiré à Goa avec ses forces. L'autre comença de monstrier ce qui luy faisoit mal au cœur; car non seulement il ne payoit point le tribut, qu'on luy auoit imposé, sinon fort raremēt, & à regret; mais aussi persecutoit les Chrestiens, quand l'occasion s'en presentoit, cōbien que ce fut contre l'une des conditions portées par le traicté de paix. Bref se voyant despoüillé de l'Isle de Manar, & hors d'esperance de la recouurer, s'il ne surprenoit, où mettoit à bas ceste forteresse, que les Portugais y auoient, il tascha par plusieurs fois de la forcer; nommément l'an 1590, ayant fait deux ou trois ans auparavant les apprests de la guerre, fort secrettement, de peur que les Portugais ne s'en doutassent. Il choisit le temps le plus fauorable, qu'il eut sceu trouuer, pour venir à bout de son entreprise: qui fut lors, que la plupart des soldats Portugais mis en garnison dans ladite forteresse, ont accoustumé d'aller prester main forte aux Chrestiens de la Pescherie, tandis qu'ils peschent leurs perles, comme nous auons dit cy dessus. Car pendant ce temps là, comme les Portugais eussent laissé ceste forteresse presque sans deffense; voicy le Roy de Iafanapatā, qui vient surgir à l'Isle avec une flotte de soixante & quinze voiles, où il auoit ramassé presque toutes ses forces, amenant beaucoup de pionniers, pieces de canon, & autres machines de guerre, pour abbatre les murailles, & faire bresche, pensant emporter la place de premier abord. Toutesfois il auoit à toutes aduentures laissé derriere soy une autre flotte de dix mille combattans, pour luy servir de renfort, s'il en estoit besoing, donnant charge à son Admiral de le suyure &

Vol. I, Bk. II, Chap. IX.

How the King of Jafanapatan, having rebelled against the Portuguese and persecuted the Christians, lost his kingdom and his life.

The Viceroy, Don Constantine, having, as we have related above, granted peace to the king of Jafanapatan on certain conditions⁶ which he imposed upon him, and which the latter promised to keep, thought that henceforth the king would not dare to lift his head, chiefly on account of the close proximity of the fortress of Manar, and of the presence of the fleet of ten⁷ ships which had been left there and were cruising all round the kingdom. But, as there is nothing which a man accustomed to command can endure with less patience than restraint, no sooner had the Viceroy turned his back and returned to Goa with his forces than the other at once began to show where the shoe pinched him. In fact not only did he fail to pay the tribute imposed upon him, except very rarely and reluctantly, but he also persecuted the Christians whenever he had an opportunity to do so, contrary to one of the stipulations of the peace treaty. In short, seeing himself deprived of the isle of Manar, and without hope of recovering it unless he took by surprise or overthrew that fortress which the Portuguese had there, he attempted more than once to take it by storm, in particular in 1590,⁸ having made preparations for war during the two or three years preceding, with the utmost secrecy, lest the Portuguese should suspect anything. He chose the most favourable time he could find to carry out his plan. It was when the majority of the Portuguese soldiers garrisoned in the aforesaid fortress used to go, as we have related, and assist the Christians of the Fishery Coast while they were engaged in pearl fishing. At that time, the Portuguese having left that fortress practically unprotected, there arrived at the isle the king of Jafanapatan with a fleet of seventy-five sail, on which he had collected practically all his forces, bringing with him a good number of pioneers, guns, and other war engines to batter down the walls and make a breach, hoping to carry the place straightway. Yet, to guard against all emergencies he had left behind him another flotilla with 10,000 men on board to serve as reserves, if there was any need, directing his Admiral to follow and assist him in case of necessity.

6. See Vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 15.

7. Under the command of D. Pedro de Noronha, and nine other Captains whose names are given by Queyroz, 319.

8. The author says that these details are from the Annual Letter of 1590. According to Queyroz (362) an attack took place on 3 September. Cf. *Port. Lra* 1. 235-3.

seconder, quand il seroit temps, ou qu'il luy orodnneroit. Il estoit desia tard, quand il print port avec sa flotte, à l'Isle de Manar, & dans la forteresse n'y auoit lors que soixante soldats Portugais; neantmoins vn petit brigantin, qui restoit à l'Isle, en menoit autres dixsept. Le Roy adverty de ce brigantin, enuoye promptement deux nauires, pour l'attaquer & le mettre à fond. Ce qui sembloit estre bien aisé à faire, veu l'inegalité du combat. Le brigantin donc fut incontinent inuesty de ces deux nauires; soudain les Barbares commencent d'un costé & d'autre à le canonner furieusement. Les Portugais ne s'est onnerent pas pour cela, ains s'encouragerent à bien faire, appuyez non sur leurs forces, mais sur l'ayde & secours diuin, qu'ils imploroient fort deuotement. Aussi experimenterent ils euidemment l'assistance de Dieu à les preseruer, & defendre: car les coups de canon qu'on tiroit de l'un & de l'autre nauire des ennemis, n'offençoient en façon quelconque ceux du brigantin: ains au contraire les coups de l'un alloient frapper contre l'autre, tellement qu'on eut dit, que les Barbares des deux nefes se faisoient la guerre eux-mesmes. Il n'y eut que deux ou trois Portugais de tuez: les autres voyans que Dieu les assistoit si fauorablement, prindrent encore plus de courage, & sans se soucier d'aucun danger, se jetterent sur les ennemis d'une telle roideur, qu'ils les mirent en fuite, & les firent retirer avec le reste de la flotte. Laquelle fut incontinent toute esperduë de frayeur & de crainte: voyant mesmement vn autre nauire de Portugais, qui venoit au secours: & d'ailleurs entendant battre vn tambour, qui toutesfois ne menoit que sept ou huict soldats Portugais, malades & à demy morts. Mais les Barbares pensans que ce fut vne grosse compagnie de soldats, prennent l'allarme de telle sorte, que le Roy avec beaucoup de ses gens, qui estoient sautez à terre, se retirent tous effrayez dans les nauires. Or d'autant que plusieurs de leurs vaisseaux estoient demeurez à sec, pour cause du reflux de la mer, ils ne peurent s'ayder de ceux-là: tellement qu'ils furent contrains de les abandonner, & se jetterent dedans les autres à grande haste. Toutesfois il y auoit encore beaucoup de soldats de l'armée du Roy, qui estoient espars çà & là dans l'Isle, lesquels ayans sceu que le Roy se retiroit, eux aussi tascherent de gagner les nauires, s'enfuyans avec grand desordre & confusion, à cause qu'ils estoient si espouuantez qu'on eut dit qu'ils auoient la peur aux talons: de façon que celuy qui couroit le plus, estoit estimé le plus habile. Brief ils estoient si esperdus de crainte, qu'ils

or when he would order him to do so. It was pretty late when his fleet cast anchor at the isle of Manar: and in the fortress there were at the time only sixty Portuguese soldiers; besides a small brigantine which had been left there had seventeen more on board. The king, on hearing of that brigantine, at once detached two ships to engage and sink it. This seemed an easy matter, considering the inequality of the fight. The brigantine was soon hedged in between these two ships, and the enemy began forthwith shelling it furiously from either side. The Portuguese did not lose heart on that account, but encouraged one another to fight bravely, relying not on their own strength, but on the help and assistance of God, which they prayed for with great devotion. They did, indeed, experience the evident intervention of God in preserving and protecting them, for the cannon shots fired from either of the enemy's ships did not in any way injure the men on board the brigantine: on the contrary, the shots of the one fell on the other, so that one would have said that the barbarians of the two ships were fighting each other. There were only two or three Portuguese killed. The rest, seeing that God helped them so favourably, plucked up more courage still, and, unmindful of any danger, rushed at the enemy with such determination that they put them to flight and forced them to withdraw with the rest of the fleet. This fleet was soon desperate with fear and fright, sighting at the same time another Portuguese ship coming to the rescue, and again hearing the beat of a drum which nevertheless led but seven or eight Portuguese soldiers sick and half dead. But the enemy, fancying that these were a whole company of soldiers, were so alarmed that the king, who had disembarked with many of his followers, took to the ships again full of apprehension. Now, as several of their vessels were aground owing to the ebb, they could not make use of them, so that they were obliged to abandon these and betake themselves in great haste to the others. However, there were still a great many soldiers of the king's army scattered here and there in the island. These too, on hearing that the king was withdrawing, tried to get to the ships, fleeing in great disorder and confusion. They were so alarmed that one would have said fear was at their heels, so that the one who ran fastest was considered the most skilful. In short, they were so panic-stricken, that they hindered one another in running, and, on reaching the shore, they threw themselves heedlessly into the ships which were aground, but noticing they were

s'empeschoient les vns les autres à courir ; & comme ils estoient arriuez au bord de la mer, ils se jettoient sans aduisement dans les nauires, qui estoient ensablez ; voyās neantmoins qu'ils n'y estoient pas asseurez, ils se precipitoient dans la mer, tellement qu'il y en eut plusieurs qui se noyèrent, & beacoup d'autres que les Portugais massacrerēt. On fait estat qu'il en y eut en tout quelque deux mille de tuez, & dixsept nauries qui resterent ensablez. Cepēdant les autres gaignoient le haut, & s'enfuyoient avec telle vistesse qu'on eut dit que quelque grosse flotte les poursuvoit, si fort ils estoient effrayez. Les Portugais considerans de plus pres l'issuē de ceste guerre, & vne victoire si merueilleuse, gaignée non par la force de leur bras où industrie humaine, ains par la vertu & puissance de ce grād Dieu des armées, qui a mis tāt souuent l'espouuāte dans le coeur de ses ennemis, remercierent Dieu de la grace singuliere qu'il leur auoit fait, exhortez nommément par nos Peres, qui se trouuerent là & qui nous ont escrit toute ceste histoire, ainsi qu'il est contenu és Annales de l'an 1590.

Quelque temps apres le mesme Roy de Iafanapatan n'ayant pas esté fait sage par ce desastre, voulut encore vne autrefois tenter fortune, & tascher de rechef de surprendre & mettre à bas la forteresse de Manar, à l'occasion d'un secours inopiné qui luy suruint, en la façon qui s'ensuit. L'an 1591, certains Corsaires estans sortis de port de Calicut, se mettent à escumer toute ceste coste d'une part & d'autre du cap de Commorin, pretendans sur tout endommager les Portugais & autres Chrestiens, s'ils en auoient le moyen. Ayant donc rencontré vn nauiere qui appartenoit à quelques Portugais, & venoit de la Chine, chargé de grandes richesses (car seulement en lingots d'or, il portoit à ce qu'on dit plus de cinq cens mille escus, & autant en soyes, & autres telles estoffes & marchandises) les escumeurs de mer l'assaillirent viuement, & comme ils estoient plusieurs contre vn, en fin ils entrerent dedans, apres auoir mis à mort presque tous ceux, qui le defendoient : lesquels neantmoins vendirent bien cher leurs vies. Car ils tuerent plus de trois cens des ennemis, & leur firent tousiours teste, iusqu'à ce qu'il ne resta en vie, que le seul Capitaine du nauiere avec vn sien seruiteur. Le Capitaine donc voyāt qu'il n'y auoit moyen

not safe in these, they jumped into the sea, with the result that many were drowned and many others put to death by the Portuguese. It is estimated that there were in all some two thousand killed and seventeen ships which remained grounded. Meanwhile, the rest were making for the deep, getting off with such speed that one would have thought a numerous fleet was chasing them, so very frightened they were. The Portuguese, on considering more carefully the issue of this encounter, and so wonderful a victory gained not by their own strength, nor through human industry, but thanks to the power and might of that great God of hosts who so often struck terror into the hearts of His enemies, thanked God for the signal grace He had bestowed upon them, being persuaded to do so in particular by those of our Fathers who were present and who have sent us the report of all this, as is contained in the annals of 1590.

Shortly after this, the same king⁹ of Jafanapatan, whom the disaster had not sobered down, wanted once more to try his fortune and attempt for the second time to take by surprise and overthrow the stronghold of Manar, the occasion being an unexpected assistance he received in the following manner. In the year 1591, some pirates,¹⁰ starting from the port of Calicut, began to scour the whole coast on either side of Cape Commorin, mostly with a view to harming the Portuguese and other Christians, if they could. Having met¹¹ a vessel which belonged to some Portuguese, and was on her way from China, carrying a very rich cargo (in fact, reckoning the gold bullion alone more than 500,000 crowns, and as much in silk and other stuffs and merchandise of the same kind) the pirates fell upon her ; and, being several against one,¹² they at last boarded her after putting to death nearly all the defenders,¹³ who, however, sold their lives dearly. In fact, they killed more than 300 of the enemy, and held out until there remained alive but the Captain of the ship with one of his servants.¹⁴ The Captain then, realising that it was impossible to stand any longer the onslaught of the enemy, and perceiving that he

9. Puvu Raja Pandaram (Q. 36) Raja Raja Desan Sekran (P. E. 252).

10. Catamuea Marcha (Q. 362) Catimuza nephew of Kunhale. Danvers, *The Port, in India*, II, 85.

11. April, 1591 (Q. 363) Danvers II. 92, places the event in April, 1594.

12. Fourteen to one according to Q.

13. Fourteen Portuguese. They fought for three days and three nights, Q. 363.

14. A Malay slave (Jão escravao) Q. A Javanese servant. Danvers, I.c.

de soustenir plus long temps l'effort des ennemis, & se sentant blessé à mort, afin que les Barbares ne fissent leur profit du thresor, qui estoit dans ce nauire, commande à son serui-teur d'y mettre le feu par diuers endroits. Ce qu'ayant esté executé, le nauire s'embrasa de telle sorte, qu'encor bien que les Pirates entrassent dedans, & tuassent le Capitaine, pilans quelque chose du nauire, bien que de peu de consequence, si n'eurent-ils moyen de sauuer le principal : car ils furent contraints d'en sortir plus viste, qu'ils n'y estoient entrez, de peur d'estre enuoloppez dans les flammes. La perte neantmoins de ce nauire fit faire banqueroute à quelques marchans de la ville de Goa, & apporta grand dommage à plusieurs autres, qui auoient pour eux engagé leurs moyens. Mais de là les Pirates prindrent courage, pour entreprendre l'année sui-uante semblables pilleries ; & d'autant que desia l'hyuer commençoit en ce pais là, ne pouuans retourner au port, d'où ils estoient sortis, ils resolurent de le passer en l'Isle de Ceilan, à vn port du Royaume de Jafanapatan. Le Roy voyant ces Corsaires si à propos, traicte de faire alliance & amitié avec eux, pour donner sur les Portugais, & mettre à bas la forteresse de Manar. A quoy les Pirates s'accorderent tres-volontiers ; car cela leur estoit fort com-mode, pour pouuoir mettre à couuert leurs nauires dans la riuiere, qui separe les Isles de Manar, & de Ceilan, & là attendre les nauires des Portugais, qui vont & viennent de Bengala, du Pegu, des Moluques, & autres ports de mer, où ils trafiquent, pour les piller & sac-cager. Leur resolution fut que les Corsaires attaqueroient la forteresse du costé de la mer avec leurs nauires ; & que le Roy enuoyeroit vne grosse armée pour l'assiéger par terre. Sur ces entrefaites, Mathias d'Albuquerque, nepueu du grand Alphonse Albuquerque, arriua de Portugal, mandé pour Viceroy de l'Inde, & entra dans Goa, lors que les nouvelles furent apportées du danger, auquel estoit l'Isle de Manar. Commenant donc d'exerser sa charge au mois de May l'an 1591. Si tost qu'il fut aduerty, tant du nauire que ces Cor-saires auoient pillé, que de leur resolution & alliance avec le Roy de Jafanapatan, pour assiéger la forteresse de Manar, il fit promptement equipper & armer vne flotte de quelques vingt nauires, & pour Admiral d'icelle, nomma André Hurtade de Mendoza, braue & vertueux Capitaine, luy commandant de se joindre avec les autres Portugais, qui estoient dans la forte-

was himself mortally wounded, ordered his servant to set fire to the ship in different places, lest the enemy should enrich them-selves with the treasures she carried. This being done, the ship burst into such flames that even though the pirates boarded her, killed the Captain, and plundered some goods of but little value, they were unable to rescue most of the cargo, for they were compelled to leave the ship quicker than they had boarded her, for fear of being surrounded by the flames. However, the loss of this ship occasioned the bankruptcy of some merchants of Goa, and caused great losses to several other people who had invested their money in her. . But the pirates were thereby emboldened to resort to similar piracies the fol-lowing year. As winter had begun already in those parts, and as they were unable to return to the port whence they had set out, they determined to spend that season in the island of Ceylon, in one of the ports of the kingdom of Jafanapatan. The king, coming across these pirates so opportunely, ap-proached them with a view to making friends and forming an alliance with them in order to fall upon the Portuguese and overthrow the fortress of Manar. To this the pirates agreed with all their hearts, for it afforded them a magnificent opportunity for conceal-ing their ships in the river that separates the islands of Manar and Ceylon, and lying there in wait to plunder and sack the Portuguese ships that frequent Bengala, Pegu, the Moluc-cas and other sea ports at which they trade. Their plan was that the pirates, with their ships should attack the fortress by sea, while the king sent a strong army to besiege it by land. Meanwhile, Mathias Albuquerque,¹⁵ nephew of the great Alfonsus Albuquerque, arrived from Portugal, having been appointed Viceroy of India, and reached Goa just when news was brought of the danger that threatened the isle of Manar. Entering upon his office in the month of May of the year 1591, as soon as he received the news both of the ship that the pirates had plundered and of their resolve and alliance with the king of Jafanapatan to besiege the fortress of Manar, he at once fitted out and armed a fleet of some twenty vessels, and appointed Andreas Hurtado de Mendoza, a gallant and stout-hearted Captain as its Admiral, giving him orders to go and join the other Portuguese that were in the fortress of Manar and to contrive to drive out the fleet of the pirates

15. Fifteenth Viceroy : reached Goa 16 May, 1591.

resse de Manar, & de faire si bien, qu'ils missent en route la flotte desdits Corsaires, & chassassent le Roy de Iafanapatan, comme il meritoit. La flotte estant partie de Goa, demeura plus de trente jours auant qu'arriuer à Cochin, à cause qu'elle eut les vents contraires, ce qui n'aduint pas (comme le succez monstra) sans vne particuliere prouidence de Dieu: car en ce temps là ils rencontrèrent trois nauires de Mahometains, qui venoient de la Meque, chargez de grandes richesses, & les prindrent en reuence de celle que les autres auoient fait perdre. Mais apres qu'ils eurent le temps à souhait, poursuiuās leur route, ils se trouuerent sur le commencement du mois d'Octobre, tout aupres de Ceilan, ou ils entendirent que les Corsaires estoient aux ancrs dans la riuiere, qui separe l'Isle de Manar d'avec celle de Ceilan, & attendoient là, que le temps fut propre pour battre la forteresse. Ceste nouuelle resiouyt fort les soldats Portugais, qui ne desiroient que venir aux mains, voyans mesme qu'ils estoient arrivez si a point, pour rôpre le dessein des ennemis. L'Admiral de la flotte Portugaise aduise cependant ses gens de ce qu'ils auoient à faire, & les exhorte à se porter vaillamment; puis soudain avec le bon vent que Dieu leur donna, ils entrent dans la riuiere, ou estoient les pyrates, & les vont affronter. Les Corsaires ne firent pas au commencement grand compte d'eux, cuidans que ce fut tant seulement le Capitaine de Manar, avec quelques soldats de la mesme garnison; toutesfois quand ils virent, qu'on les chargeoit si furieusement, ils furent tous estonnez, & tascherent de mettre leurs nauires au large, pour combattre plus commodement. Mais ils furent pressez si viuement, que sans se prendre garde, ils vont eschouër & tomber en des bancs qu'il y a là en quantité; de maniere qu'ils demeurèrent tous ensablez, ne pouuans faire remuer leurs vaisseaux, pour se defendre, où endommager les assaillans. L'admiral des Portugais Hurtade de Mendoza voyant cela, fit venir promptement de l'Isle de Manar quelques petites barques, avec lesquelles il se rēdit maistre de toute la flotte des Corsaires. Eux se voyans perdus lasserent leurs nauires à l'abandon, & estans sautez à terre, se vont joindre au Roy de Iafanapatan, qui n'attendoit pas de telles nouuelles. Apres ceste victoire l'Admiral

and punish the king of Jafanapatan as he deserved. The fleet left Goa ¹⁶ and took more than thirty days ¹⁷ to reach Cochin owing to contrary winds. This did not happen, (as the event proved), without a special providence of God, for during that time they came upon three Mohamedan ships from Mecca, laden with great riches. They captured these ¹⁸ in retaliation for the loss which the others had caused. Continuing their journey when the weather was favourable, they found themselves very near Ceylon towards the beginning of October. There they learnt that the pirates were at anchor in the river which separates the isle of Manar from that of Ceylon, waiting till the weather allowed them to batter down the fortress. This piece of news greatly rejoiced the Portuguese soldiers who ardently desired to come to close quarters, seeing that they had come in good time to frustrate the enemy's plans. The Admiral of the Portuguese fleet thereupon instructed his men as to what they had to do and exhorted them to behave valiantly. Immediately after, thanks to the favourable wind God gave them, they entered the river where the pirates were waiting and advanced against them. At first, the pirates did not mind them much, imagining that it was only the Captain of Manar with a few soldiers of the same garrison, but, when they noticed that they were being rushed at so furiously, they were greatly amazed and attempted to take their ships to the offing, in order to fight more conveniently. But they were so hard pressed that before they were aware of it, they were aground and stuck fast on the sandbanks that lie there in great number, so that all remained stranded on the shallows unable to move their ships to defend themselves or impair their assailants.

On seeing this, the Portuguese Admiral. Hurtado de Mendoza, called at once from the isle of Manar a few little barges with which he captured the whole fleet of the pirates. ¹⁹ These, seeing they were lost, abandoned their ships, and jumping on shore, ran ²⁰ to the king of Jafanapatan who did not expect such news. After gaining this victory, the Admiral of the Portuguese determined to carry out the Viceroy's order, ²¹ so that he entered the island of Ceylon with an armed force in order

16. Mendonca was delayed by bad weather and left Goa, 9 September, 1591, i.e., the day after the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. Q. 363. In August according to the *Compendio Vniuersal*, p. 70.

17. More than 20 days at Onor, Q.

18. Sank 2, captured the other, Danvers 85. One burnt, one sunk and one captured and sent to Cochin, Q. 363.

19. The whole fleet remained in the hands of the Portuguese. Danvers.

20. Catamna escaped, Q. 364.

21. The order was a sealed Regimento given by Q. 364-5. Translation P. E. 541.

de la flotte Portugaise voulut poursuiure d'exécuter le commandement du Viceroy, tellement qu'il entra avec main forte dans l'Isle de Ceilan, pour chastier le Roy de Jafanapatan, ayant à ceste fin assemblé le plus de soldats qu'il peut, tant de ceux de la forteresse de Manar, comme des autres, qu'il y auoit en la coste de la Pescherie, s'aydant aussi des Chrestiens originaires du païs, & avec ceste troupe de gens ramassez, il s'achemine tout droit la part, ou il scent qu'estoit l'armée de Roy. Bref il se va camper auprès d'icelle pour combattre au plustost. Mais sçachant bien que les victoires sont en la main de Dieu, & qu'il les donne à qui il luy plaist; le matin auant donner la bataille. il fit ouyr la Messe à tous ses soldats; & luy mesme avec plusieurs d'iceux receut le precieux Corps de nostre Seigneur; ayât en son camp quelques Peres de nostre Cōpagnie, qui estoient venus de Goa avec la flotte. Les ennemis estoient biē retrēchez, & si auoient grande quātité d'artillerie; mais ils furēt assaillis des Portugais avec vne telle vaillāce, & roideur, qu'ils furent biē tost mis à vau de route; & apres si furieusement poursuyuis, qu'il y en eut force de taillez en pieces, outre vn'infinité de blessez. Et entr'autres le Capitaine General de l'armée des ennemis, lequel se sentant lauré se retire de la meslée, & s'en va porter, an nouuelle au Roy, qui estoit en son palais distant vne lieuë seulement du lieu, ou la desconfiture auoit esté faite. Là où il le trouua avec vne bonne troupe de soldats, qu'il auoit retenu pour la garde de son corps; & luy ayant fait le rapport de ce, qui estoit arriué, l'aduisé de sortir vistement de la ville, ou il estoit, & se retirer en lieu plus asseuré; d'autant que les ennemis venoient apres eux au grand pas; que s'il les attendoit plus long temps, il seroit surprins à l'improeu. Mais Dieu Voulant chastier les pechez de ce meschant Roy, & de ses predecesseurs encore, permit qu'il ne voulut pas croire le conseil du General de son armée, ains l'appellant poltron & coüard, le fit retourner au combat, luy baillant de renfort les gens, qu'il auoit auprès de soy, afin qu'il empeschat que les Portugais n'entrassent dans la ville. Mais comme l'armée victorieuse estoit encouragée ayant eu

to punish the king of Jafanapatan. He had to that effect mustered as many soldiers as he could²² both of those of the fortress of Manar and of the others that were stationed on the Fishery Coast, getting help also from the native Christians.²³ With these people he had gathered together, he made straight²⁴ for the place where he knew the king's army was.²⁵ In one word, he went and struck his camp near it in order to engage battle without delay. But, being aware that victories are in God's hands Who gives them to whomsoever He pleases, he had all his men hear Mass on the morning previous²⁶ to giving battle, and he himself together with several of these received the precious Body of our Lord, having in his camp several Fathers of our Society who had come with the fleet from Goa. The enemy were well intrenched and had besides many pieces of artillery, but they were attacked by the Portuguese with such bravery and determination that they were soon put to rout, and then so hotly pursued that numbers of them were cut to pieces, there being besides innumerable wounded. And, among others, the Captain General of the enemy who finding himself badly wounded left the fight and went to carry the news to the king, who was in his palace only a league away²⁷ from the place where the discomfiture had been sustained.²⁸ There he found him with a numerous body of soldiers whom he had kept as body guard,²⁹ and after informing him of what had happened, he exhorted him to leave without delay the town in which he was and to retire to a place of greater safety, especially as the enemy were pushing on after them with all haste, and told him that if he waited any longer he would be taken unawares. But God, in order to punish the crimes of this wicked king and of his predecessors too, allowed that he should not believe the advice of the General of his army, but calling him a poltroon and a coward ordered him back to the fight,³⁰ giving him as reinforcement the men he had near him that he might prevent the Portuguese from entering the town. But the victorious army was high spirited, having got the upper hand in two previous battles.

22. 1,400 Portuguese and 5,000 Lascorins in 13 rowing boats and tones, Q. 765-6, where a list of Captains is given.

23. A loan of 20,000 pardaos from the Carcas, Q.

24. Left Manar, 26 October

25. At the mouth of the strait called Rio de Cruz, Q. 366, P. E. 255.

26. On the 28 October Q.

27. Nelur? Q.

28. Chungumayor Changanai? P. E. 255.

29. Atapattu do Rey, Q. 367 Atapattu guard.

30. Cf. Danvers 85.

le dessus és deux batailles passées, au beau premier rencontre le Capitaine General des barbares fut tué, & tous les autres mis en fuite. Les Portugais poursuyans la victoire, se diligentent, de maniere qu'ils furent plustost dans le palais du Roy, qu'il ne sçeut la route des siens. Voyant donc les ennemis sur soy, il tasche de se mettre en deffence avec ce peu de gens qui luy restoient : mais ils furent incontinēt rompus, & luy mesme tué sur la place, avec son fils aîné. Le puisné voyant son pere & son frere morts, se donna à cognoistre, & s'estant jetté aux pieds du Capitaine General de l'armée Portugais, le prie de luy vouloir sauuer la vie, promettant de se rendre Chrestien, s'il le laissoit viure dauantarge. Le General entendant cela, oste tout aussi tost son heaume de la teste, & le met sur celle du Prince, le traictant avec beaucoup d'honneur & courtoisie. Peu de temps apres tout le Royaume vint prester l'obeyssance au mesme General, laquelle il receut au nom du Viceroy des Indes, & du Roy de Portugal. Apres ce il nomma Gouverneur le fils puisné du Roy defunct, iusqu'à tant qu'il eut donné aduis à Goa, de ce qui s'estoit passé.

Fin.

At the very first encounter the Captain General of the enemy was killed and all the rest put to flight. The Portuguese followed up their victory pressing on hastily and were in the king's palace before he learned of the rout of his men. Seeing then the enemy upon him, he tried to make a stand with the few men that were left him, but these were in no time broken, and he himself slain on the spot with his eldest son. The younger son,³¹ seeing his father and brother dead, came forward, and falling at the feet of the Captain General of the Portuguese army, begged of him to spare his life, promising to become a Christian, if he let him live on. The General, on hearing this, took off at once his helmet from his head and put it on that of the Prince, treating him with great honour and courtesy. Shortly after, the whole kingdom came and swore allegiance to the same General, which he received on behalf of the Viceroy of India and of the King of Portugal. After this, he appointed the younger son³² of the defunct king governor, until he had reported to Goa what had taken place.

The End.

31. Hendarmana Cinga Cumara. Q.

32. Under the name of Pera Jara Chegara Pandar. Q. (Para Rasa Sekara Pandar).



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Part II.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798—1805.¹

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WHEN we consider that three years had not elapsed between the British occupation of the Maritime Provinces and Mr. North's arrival as Governor; that these had been years of military occupation and military Government; that there was frequent fear, and possibly constant expectation, of a French descent on the Maritime Provinces, particularly the harbour of Trincomalee; and that, during the last two years of Mr. North's administration, a disastrous war with the King of Kandy was being carried on, it is not surprising to find that military matters occupied a great part of the Governor's thought and time, and that the subject bulks largely in his Despatches and correspondence. In fact, so copious is the material, and so scattered are the references that the work of selection and arrangement is one of not a little difficulty.

The Commander-in-Chief.

In the original Instructions from the Court of Directors to Mr. North^{1a} all military, as well as civil, powers are vested in the Governor, but there appears always to have been a military Commander-in-Chief in addition—Brigadier-General P. F. de Meuron from June, 1797, till about the end of 1798, Colonel Josias Champagne from then till about July, 1799, Major-General Hay MacDowall from July, 1799, to 29th February, 1804, Major-General David Douglas Wemyss from that date till 19th July, 1805. Mr. North seems to have been unfortunate in the exercise of his military authority: at the outset of his administration, he found his powers clashing with those of the Commander-in-Chief in India "in every Point" owing to the indefiniteness of his orders from England,² and at the end of it, his authority had been

1. Owing to interrupted work, the collection of information regarding artillery and engineers could not be completed in time, and it is therefore omitted. It may, however, be noted here that the gunners of the day were drawn from units of the Royal Artillery, and of Bengal and Madras Artillery. They used guns of various types, viz., three, four and six pounders among others. "Coehorns," portable bronze mortars, were used in their expeditions. Later Coehorns were also used. A $\frac{1}{2}$ " coehorn and one one-pounder constituted the artillery of Captain Johnston's expedition to Kandy in 1804.

1a. Despatch of 25th May, 1798, para. 5.

2. Despatch of 26th February, 1799, para. 117.

defied and the civil Government reduced to impotence by the arrogance of Major-General Wemyss.

The Military Board.

To assist him in dealing with military matters, the Governor appointed a Military Board on 13th March, 1799,³ to consist of the Commander of the Troops, President; Colonel Champagne, Commandant of Colombo, Vice-President; the Military Auditor-General, the Deputy Adjutant-General, Deputy Quarter-Master General, Senior Officer of Artillery, Senior Officer of Engineers, Members; and a Secretary. Lord Hobart, Secretary of State,⁴ appears to have doubted the advantages to be gained from the appointment of this Board, but it remained in existence till it was suppressed by Governor Maitland shortly after his arrival in July, 1805,⁵ and its business taken over by the Quarter-Master General's Department.

As a French attack on the Maritime Provinces was expected from time to time, we find frequent estimates of the strength of the forces required for their defence. Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew, Adjutant-General, suggested, in 1797, that it should be 2,000 European infantry, 4,000 Native infantry, 4 companies of artillery with lascars, costing annually £180,000, stores and extraordinary expenditure included.⁶ The Secretary of State, however, appears to have thought a greater proportion of European troops necessary, and sanctioned an establishment of 3 European regiments, say, 3,000 men, and one Malay and one Native regiment of about 1,000 men each.⁷ But Mr. North and Major-General MacDowall remained of the opinion that two King's regiments, two regiments of Ceylon Native Infantry, one regiment of Malays, and three companies of Royal Artillery constituted a sufficient and adequate de-

fence force.⁸ The actual force in the Island, however, frequently varied from all these estimates.

The Nineteenth Regiment.

Of the European troops, none served for a longer period, or with greater distinction in all the history of Ceylon—if not of the Empire—than did the Nineteenth Foot, or 19th (Yorkshire) Regiment. It arrived in December, 1796, and garrisoned Colombo and supplied detachments for Negombo, Kalutara, and Mannar, till 1799. The regiment first saw active service in Ceylon during the "joy-tax" riots of 1800, two companies being sent to the relief of the Mannar garrison. On the suppression of this riot the relieving force executed a brilliant march cross country to Trincomalee.⁹ About the same time, Captain Vincent of the 19th was attacked between Colombo and Negombo, fighting stubbornly till relieved.

In 1800, five companies of the 19th accompanied Major-General MacDowall's Embassy as far as Ruwanwella, where they apparently remained encamped till the General returned from Kandy. From 1800 till 1803, the regiment appears to have been on garrison duty at Colombo and Trincomalee, two and five companies respectively—de Bussche¹⁰ says 580 men in all—joining the detachments which proceeded from these posts on the expedition against Kandy in 1803. In the campaign of that year the 19th suffered severely, losing all except 14 men out of 300 left to garrison Kandy, and probably several out of the remaining 280. The surviving officers and men appear to have taken part in the operations of the latter part of 1803, and 70 officers and men of the 19th were the backbone of Captain Johnston's detachment of 305 men, whose famous march in 1804 from Batticaloa to Trincomalee through the hostile Kandyan country did so much to rehabilitate the fallen fame of the British arms

3. *Gazette* of 24th July 1805.

4. *Despatch* of 5th October, 1799, para 46.

5. *Gazette* of 24th July, 1805, and *Despatch*

of 18th October, 1805.

6. *Ceylon Literary Register, Weekly*, II 146.

7. *Despatch* of 10th September, 1802, Para 75.

8. *Despatch* of 24th November, 1802, para 138.

9. Percival, 1st Edition, p. 55.

10. Page 66.

in Ceylon. The regiment served in Ceylon till 1820, but its further history is beyond our present scope.¹¹

The 51st.

Another regiment which shared the vicissitudes of the Kandyan War was the 51st, or 2nd Yorkshire (West Riding). They arrived in Ceylon in March, 1800, and were stated to be "a remarkably fine Corps," though they were under 400 strong.¹² Their numbers must, however, have been augmented later, as we find 625 men of the 51st forming part of the Colombo detachment in the expedition against Kandy in 1803.¹³ Though this regiment was withdrawn from Kandy in April, 1803, and did not share the horrors of the siege of June, it lost heavily from Kandyan fever.¹⁴ In the campaign of the latter part of 1803, the surviving officers and men took an outstanding part. The regiment left Ceylon in 1807.

The 65th.

The third European regiment which campaigned during the Kandyan War was the 65th, or 2nd Yorkshire (North Riding), later the 1st Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment.¹⁵ Two companies of this regiment arrived on 2nd November, 1802,¹⁶ and part of it appears still to have been in Ceylon in July, 1804.¹⁷ Though the 65th does not appear to have been sent to Kandy in 1803¹⁸ it suffered severely from fever, 47 out of 50 picked men being carried off by fever contracted at Fort Frederic near Giriulla.¹⁹

The 80th.

The 80th Regiment was also in Ceylon during this period, but the details are scanty. We learn from the Despatch of 30th August, 1800 (para. 75), that about 600 men of the 80th formed part of the Ceylon establishment on

that date, but there is no record of their arrival or their services. About the middle of 1801²⁰ they left Ceylon for Egypt with Major-General Sir David Baird, apparently forming part of the mixed army of British and Sepoys which were landed on the shore of the Red Sea, marched across the desert to the Nile, and conveyed to Cairo in boats, but arrived too late to take part in the operations which led to the French evacuation of Egypt.

Others.

The loss sustained by the 19th and 51st Regiments during 1803 resulted in the 300 men of the 10th Regiment, who arrived from Bengal about the end of 1803, being drafted into these regiments.²¹ The establishment of European troops was also augmented, about the same time, by two companies of the 34th Regiment from Madras;²² and, when, towards the end of 1804, probably September, the 66th Regiment arrived in Ceylon, the island establishment was increased "to a greater Body than ever has been . . . in my Time."²³

In the early days of Mr. North's administration, the European regiments were supplemented with Sepoys of the Indian Army, for example, the Madras Native Infantry, the 4th, 9th, and 10th Native Regiments, but it was his consistent policy to attempt to make the Ceylon establishment independent of military assistance from India by raising indigenous regiments and developing existing Ceylon corps.

The Malays.

To take the latter first, Mr. North, on his arrival, found about 500 Malays belonging to the second of the three "sorts" into which he divided that people—"Princes, Soldiers, and Robbers,"²⁴ and his intention was to transfer

11. On the history of the Nineteenth Foot see Reith in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XXIII, No. 66, 1913, pp. 50 ff.

12. Lewis; *Tombstones and Monuments*, p. 81. *Despatch* of 5th April, 1800, and *Despatch* of 30th August, 1800, para 75.

13. Cordiner, II, 168, 14. Cordiner; *Tombstones and Monuments*, p. 81; de Bussche, p. 65.

15. *Tombstones and Monuments* p. 81. 16. *Gazette* of 4th November, 1802.

17. *Ceylon Literary Register, Weekly* II 222; *Tombstones and Monuments*, 81. 18. Percival: de Bussche 65; Cordiner.

19. Cordiner, II, 194. 20. *Despatch* of 5th October, 1801, para 113, *Ceylon Literary Register, Weekly*, II 301.

21. *Despatch* of 1st January, 1804, para 80. 22. *Ibid* 81. 23. *Despatch* of 5th October, 1804.

24. *Despatch* of 26th February, 1799, paras 42, 43.

as many as possible of the third "sort" into the second. The original 500 were, some of them, in the East India Company's service, and some in, what Mr. North calls "the revenue service of the Island," suggesting that they supplied the compulsion necessary for its collection.

Mr. North suggested and carried out several reforms to bring about the desired change. One was to increase their pay so as to reduce desertions, and to induce the "Robbers" to join the corps, but, at the same time, to reduce the high allowances drawn by them, equal to those paid to European troops. Their pay was consequently to be increased, and the allowances to be decreased, to those drawn by the Sepoys. A more important reform was that of drafting European officers to the corps, a reform, which, with the interest taken in the corps by Major-General MacDowall and Colonel Champagne, the latter of whom was gazetted Commandant of the Malays retrospectively from 25th April, 1802, and gave his name to the Regiment, effected a great improvement in the discipline of the corps. The name of Captain Whittlie, their first Commandant, is also specially associated with the development of the regiment, and under his command, during a campaign against the Polygars in India, 1801, for which the Malays were lent to the Madras Government, "They distinguished Themselves by their active & indefatigable Intrepidity. At the storm of Panjalam-Courchy after their gallant Commander Captain Whittlie had been dangerously wounded, They entered the Breach with the Europeans, & with Them terminated the Business, & were publicly thanked by Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew as soon as it was over."²⁵

By January, 1800, the strength of the Malay Regiment was nearly 1,000,²⁶ and by the

end of 1801, it was arranged that they were to relieve the Madras Native Infantry at Trincomalee. The actual transfer does not, however, appear to have taken place till about the middle of 1802, the presentation of their colours to the Malay Regiment taking place in Colombo on 31st May, 1802, the colours being received, and the Governor's address replied to, by Major Adam Davie.²⁷

To maintain the strength of the regiment by recruiting, Mr. North proposed that an agent should be located in Prince of Wales' Island for that purpose, and arrangements were on foot for the transfer to Ceylon of Malays raised by the Madras Government in the Moluccas.²⁸

The Malay Regiment took a considerable part in the Kandyan Expedition, 700 out of the Kandy Garrison of 1,000 men being drawn from it. Several allegations of infidelity to the British at this time have been made against the Malays, and it appears that they were well founded. Cordiner mentions frequent desertions of small parties of Malays, for example, eight on 9th June, 11 more by the 20th, and one-third of the garrisons of 12 men and a sergeant at Gihiragama and Galagedera,²⁹ while there are several references to the desertion of Malays in the last letters from the officers of the Garrison of Kandy, Major Davie writing on 17th June that "the Lascars and Malays desert by dozens." The correspondence of Major Davie with Governor Maitland, forwarded by the latter to the Secretary of State by Despatch of 28th February, 1806, shows that Davie "attributes the massacre of Candy entirely to the Malays," and Maitland's original opinion,³⁰ founded on papers perused by him before coming to Ceylon, that the Malays had "hitherto behaved with Fidelity" required revision. It is surprising to note that

25. Despatch of 31st December 1801, para 93.

26. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, para 117.

27. Gazette of 31st May, 1802—Major Davie was stationed in Trincomalee at the end of September, 1802 (Gazette of 29th), and Commandant of Fort Osterburg on 1st November, 1802 (Gazette).

28. Despatch of 16th March, 1802, paras 105, 106.

29. II 204, 206, 207.

30. In his Report to Lord Camden see Secretary of State's Despatch of 21st February, 1805.

the Malays, who had deserted to the Kandyanans, and who "when they got tired of the Candyanans and came back into their own Country" were paid "the whole Arrears of Pay due from the Hour they joined the Enemy and murdered our own People, under the Plea that they had returned from Desertion."³¹

The Ceylon Native Infantry.

In addition to the improvement of the Malay Regiment, part of Mr. North's scheme to make Ceylon independent of military assistance from India was the raising of regiments of Ceylon Native Infantry. Although the military opinion of the time was that it would be impossible to raise efficient troops in the Maritime Provinces, Mr. North pointed out that the inhabitants performed police duties satisfactorily, and had shown perseverance in the rebellion of 1797,³² and accordingly decided to try the experiment. Two companies were raised at Galle by August, 1800, "composed of as handsome men as can be found in any service;" two others were about to be raised at Matara, and it was expected that their example would ensure the success of the scheme. Mr. North aimed at the formation of two battalions of about 1,000 men each, a force, which, with the increased Malay Regiment, was to make him independent of India.³³ European officers for the corps were recruited from among the non-commissioned officers of the European Regiments, from the East India Company's service, and from persons of "Military Knowledge & Habits."³⁴

It appears to have been the intention to form two corps, one for internal defence, and one for general service. The former, naturally, attracted nearly all the recruits, and by February, 1801, numbered nearly 500 men, whereas the latter progressed very slowly in comparison.³⁵ Captain Martin of the Madras Establishment is named as Commandant of the former, which is mentioned as the "Moor Battalion."

By September, 1802, the Ceylon Native Infantry numbered 600, when they received a large increment to their strength in 1,200 men discharged by the Madras Government being engaged to enlist. This increment would bring their total strength up to about the two battalions at which the Governor aimed, but the strength of native troops would then be greater than that sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Mr. North, however, expects to have the two battalions sanctioned and, if not, the surplus could be settled on the Mutturajawilla scheme, near Negombo.³⁶

By this time, the Ceylon Native Infantry had been regularly constituted. In the Gazette of 26th April, 1802, Colonel William Ramsay of the 80th Regiment was appointed Commandant retrospectively from 25th April, 1801, and the C. N. I. was hence often called Colonel Ramsay's Regiment, as the Malays Regiment was called Colonel Champagne's. From 30th August, 1802, Captain T. W. Kerr of the 80th was gazetted Commandant, presumably in succession to Ramsay, and received the colours on their presentation by the Governor in Colombo on 10th January, 1803.³⁷ At that time, the corps appears to have been composed of the discharged troops from Madras and a few Ceylon Moormen.

Shortly afterwards, the Ceylon Native Infantry contributed as many as 1,000 men to the Kandyan Expedition, but they were fortunate enough to be withdrawn from Kandy with the 51st Regiment on 31st March, 1803, thus escaping the Massacre of 26th June. But the corps suffered severely from fever and other diseases contracted during the campaigns of 1803 and 1804, and the supply of indigenous soldiers appears to have ceased, as further recruiting was done in Cochin and other places in India.³⁸

Sepoys and "Callres."

The result of this recruiting appears to have been the formation of Colonel Baillie's

31. *Despatch* of 25th February, 1800.

33. *Despatch* of 6th August, 1800, paras 80, 82.

36. *Despatch* of 10th September, 1801, para 70.

38. *Despatch* of 1st January 1804, para 83.

Despatch of 12th February, 1802, para 15.

34. *Ibid.*, para 4.

35. *Despatch* of 18th February, 1801, paras 205, 207.

37. *Gazette* of 12th January, 1803.

Regiment on 12th May, 1804,³⁹ to which officers from various regiments—Champagne's, 51st, 19th, 80th, 57th, 77th, 84th,—⁴⁰ were transferred, and colours presented on 22nd November, 1805.⁴¹ This regiment was, about this time, called the Third Ceylon Regiment, Champagne's Malay Regiment being called the First, and Colonel Ramsay's the Second,⁴² but the composition of the Third Ceylon Regiment was early altered by the Sepoys in it being transferred to the Second Regiment, and the name of Third Ceylon Regiment being given to the "Caffre" Corps.⁴³

The necessity of recruiting these regiments from India would appear to show that Mr. North's dream of two Ceylonese battalions rendering Ceylon independent of military assistance from India was not realised. Nor was the substituted Sepoy establishment satisfactory, as it was both expensive and immobile owing to the Sepoys being accustomed to have about two coolies or camp followers for each of them, so that the army was "little more or less than a Baggage Guard to its own followers."⁴⁴ Governor Maitland accordingly proposed to replace the C. N. I. by an extension of the "Caffre" corps, commenced by Mr. North, which was not open to the above objection. The first purchase of Kaffir slaves for the new corps was made by Mr. North towards the end of 1803 from Goa,⁴⁵ 170 arriving in Ceylon and being placed under the command of the Town Major, John Wilson, about 12th November, 1803.⁴⁶ 180 more arrived about 5th October, 1804,⁴⁷ and, by 8th February, 1805, they were 700 strong, the cost to the Ceylon Government working out at about £37 per head. Mr. North makes no attempt to defend the purchase of slaves for Government service, but General Maitland points out that the numbers required for Ceylon form a very small proportion of the slave trade; that that trade cannot be stopped; that, on purchase, the slaves are given their liberty whereas, if they had been purchased

for the French or Portuguese settlements, they would have remained slaves for their natural lives.⁴⁸ It may, however, be noted that the agitation against the slave trade had begun in England by 1787, and, in 1789, resolutions condemning the trade had been introduced in Parliament. In 1807, an Act of Parliament made the slave trade illegal, though it was not actually abolished for nearly 30 years more.

Independent Companies.

In addition to the Malay Regiment and the Ceylon Native Infantry, what were called Independent Companies were apparently raised at several of the outstations. These were corps recruited locally, the first formed being that raised by Lieutenant-Colonel Barbut in Jaffna about the beginning of 1801, consisting of "one Hundred Topazzis & Malabars."⁴⁹ There was a similar Independent Company at Manaar, and, doubtless, at several other stations. The advantage of these companies was that the breaking up of the other corps for garrison duty at small stations was avoided, but the possible disadvantage of the existence of several such small independent units is not noticed, and may not have been felt.

The Cavalry.

Another branch of the military establishment was the cavalry. It was originally supposed that cavalry would be of no use to the Ceylon Government, and it occurred to Mr. North that the stud of horse established on the islands of Delft and Iranaitivu could be dispensed with. This stud had originally been started for the benefit of the Madras Government, but that Government later established one apparently in its own jurisdiction, and had no further use for the Ceylon stable. There were, however, several reasons for keeping it on, and a grant of the islands was made to Lieutenant-Colonel Barbut for that purpose.⁵⁰

It was not long before the acquisitive genius of Lieutenant-Colonel Barbut suggested a means of profit out of the stud, probably in

39. *Gazette* of 9th January, 1805; Despatches, Vol. II, p. 301.

40. It is not clear that all these Regiments were in Ceylon at the time. 41. *Gazette*.

42. Despatch of 9th October, 1805, and its annexure H 8. 43. *Ibid*.

44. Maitland's Report to Lord Camden. 45. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, para 82.

46. *Gazette* of 16th November, 1803. 47. Despatch of date. 48. Maitland's Report to Lord Camden.

49. Despatch of 18th February, 1801, para 203. 50. Despatch of 31st December, 1801, para 19 ff.

his own interest. During his visit to Dambadeniya, on the occasion of the conference between Mr. North and the First Adigar, he drew up the proposals dated at Dambadeniya on 4th May, 1803, for the establishment of a corps of cavalry, 200 strong. He was to supply the mares from his stud, and, in return, was to be granted "the country in the neighbourhood of Candely Lake . . . on perpetual Lease" for the use of the stud, and to be the headquarters of the corps. He was also to be appointed Colonel-Commandant, and his brother-in-law, Lieutenant John Nixon of the 24th Light Dragoons, was to be senior Captain, and Government was to pay for all mares killed, or which might die during enrolment.

These proposals were forwarded to General MacDowall, who sent them on to the Governor with a favourable recommendation by his letter of 12th May, adding an estimate of 179,452 rix dollars as the probable annual expense of a corps apparently 240 strong. But the Governor was not disposed to increase the military expense by this sum, or even at all, and suggested that some saving of expense by the reduction of the infantry was necessary before the proposal could be entertained. But the General was unable to assent to any reduction, and Barbut declined to accept a less ambitious scheme which was proposed by the Governor, and the suggestion fell through. Barbut's death from fever, almost immediately afterwards, on 21st May, 1803, closed the discussion for ever.⁵¹

But the position that cavalry were not required in Ceylon seems to have been abandoned soon afterwards, probably as a result of these suggestions, for, by 1st January, 1804, we find that the Governor, impressed with the necessity of cavalry to cut off fugitives, had purchased 24 horses for 12 Europeans, late of the Dragoons, and 12 ex-troopers of the Madras Bodyguard, who were placed under the command of Lieutenant Thwaites of the 51st Regiment.⁵² By 8th March, 1805, the numbers

had been increased to 100.⁵³ The corps apparently took part in some of the raids of 1804 and 1805—for example, a body of cavalry under Lieutenant Chamley accompanied Captain Blackall's raid from Negombo on 15th February, 1805.⁵⁴ The corps was also said to be of great assistance in protecting the salt pans, and preventing illicit traffic with the Kandians.⁵⁵

The First Colombo Town Guard.

It is interesting to note that the first Town Guards were formed during the period under review. In the absence of the greater part of the Colombo garrison on the Expedition to Kandy in 1803, a corps of militia was formed in Colombo. By Government Advertisement of 7th February, 1803, published in Gazette of 9th, all persons in the civil employ of Government, all Burghers, and all registered Europeans except the civil and military servants of the late Dutch Government, were required to enrol their names with the Town Major. A parade was held on 15th February, and His Excellency the Governor was "much pleased at seeing the numerous and respectable assembly."⁵⁶ Three drills a week were held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays at 4 p. m. on the Esplanade. Robert Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, was the Major-Commandant, Major John Wilson—the Town Major—was Regulating Officer, and Lieutenant Young of the 65th Regiment was Adjutant.⁵⁷ The Captains were: the Hon. George Melville Leslie, Paymaster-General; Nicholas Saumarez, President of the Board of Revenue; Alexander Johnston, Advocate Fiscal; Alexander Wood, Agent of Revenue and Commerce, Colombo; Robert Boyd, Accountant-General; Frederic Baron Mylius, Fiscal to the Supreme Court. The Lieutenants were: Richard Plasket, First Assistant in the Secretary's office; Richard Bourne, Assistant to the Agent of Revenue; John Deane, John Davidson, John Angus, civil servants; Beauvoir Dobree, Secretary to the Provincial Court, Colombo; Frans Philip Fretz,

51. Despatch of 15th May, 1803, and annexures.

52. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, para 84.

53. Despatch of date.

54. Gazette of 27th February, 1805.

55. Despatch of 11th July, 1805.

56. Gazette of 16th February, 1803.

57. Gazette of 3rd February, 1803.

Charles Alexander Tonneau, Bareht de Waas, Salomon de Waas, . . Cuylenburg.⁵⁸ His Excellency the Governor enlisted as a private in Leslie's company, "to prevent any Disputes concerning Rank."⁵⁹ The total strength was about 500. Two companies were raised on a similar footing in Galle, and the other outstations were expected to follow this example, but whether they did so or not is not recorded.

The Department of Guides.

In the latter part of 1803, a Department of Guides was formed on the recommendation of Major-General MacDowall. Captain Frederick Hankey of the 19th Regiment was placed in command, and the Department is reported to have done excellent work.⁶⁰ Dcn Adrian Wijesinha Jayawardena, the Mudaliyar of the Guides, otherwise known as Tamby Mudaliyar, was awarded a gold medal and chain for his zeal and eminent services.⁶¹

Lascars.

In a country without roads and the possibility of wheeled transport, the efficiency of the lascar and cooly detachments was a matter of great importance. Originally, the lascars were supplied from India, but, in the latter part of 1801, an attempt was made to raise the necessary labour in Ceylon. Three companies of gun and tent Lascars and pioneers were proposed, and the recruiting was carried on actively by Lieutenant-Colonel Logan, Commandant of Galle, and by Lieutenant Blakeney at Trincomalee.⁶² But it appears that Ceylon still had to have recourse to India to supply the full number required. Towards the end of 1804, for example, we read of 400 being raised in India for service in Ceylon.

Coolies.

There was even greater difficulty as regards the supply of coolies. Mr. North's land tenure reforms had released from the obligation of service large numbers of the inhabitants

who had been trained and accustomed to this work, and they could be no longer got to do the work for any amount of pay offered to them. They had, accordingly, to be replaced by imported labour at great expense. Thus, we find that, for the offensive of 1804, no less than 4,000 coolies are estimated as being required, and that later this estimate rose to 5,000 or 6,000,⁶³ the cost to the Ceylon Government being about £30,000 per annum.⁶⁴

Forts.

Having now detailed the units of the military establishment, we may pass on to examine the fortifications of the Maritime Provinces. The following is a list of the military commands in May, 1803, all of which were presumably fortified to some extent: Trincomalee, Galle, Colombo, Jaffna, Fort Ostenburgh (Trincomalee) Matara, Tangalle, Manaar, Futtalam, Kalpitiya, Kalutara, Hambantota, Batticaloa, Mullaitivu, Pannegama, Negombo.⁶⁵ Of these, the first three were the most important, both from a local and an imperial standpoint—the "bulwarks of India" Mr. North calls them—⁶⁶ and we consequently find more attention paid to them in the Despatches.

The first requirement of Trincomalee seems to have been accommodation for the troops. Temporary barracks were put up early in 1799, as the Dutch barracks were found to be badly situated, and in poor repair.⁶⁷ The Commandant, Colonel Champagne, also had many of the coconut trees between the Fort and the Harbour cut down, a measure which, with the better housing of the troops, was expected to reduce the high mortality among the troops, rendering "the name of Trincomalee so dreadful to the Ears of military men."⁶⁸ Permanent barracks were found to be required in 1801, as the temporary buildings lacked solidity, and the officers were billeted, at some distance from the troops, in what was called the "lower town." In the new barracks

58. Garrison Order of 8th March, 1803, in *Gazette* of 9th.

60. *Despatch* of 1st January, 1804, paras 93, 94.

62. *Despatch* of 15th December, 1801, para 18.

64. Maitland's *Despatches*.

66. *Despatch* of 10th September, 1802, para 81.

68. *Despatch* of 5th October, 1799, para 56.

59. *Despatch* of 20th March, 1803.

61. *Gazette* of 16th November, 1803.

63. *Despatches* of 3rd March 1804; 5th October, 1804.

65. Maitland's *Despatch* of 15th October 1805 annexure.

67. *Despatch* of 26th February, 1799, para 113.

they were to be nearer the men, while, at the same time, the buildings occupied by them in the lower town could be demolished, a point apparently of some importance in connection with some scheme for strengthening the fortifications by shortening their circumference.⁶⁹ More trees were cut down, with the double purpose of admitting more air to the Fort, and rendering its defences more secure. Mr. North was anxious, and made repeated requests to the Home Government, to have them overhauled by an expert engineer, and certain alterations made,⁷⁰ but there is no report of this having been done. Towards the end of 1803, several heavy guns were sent to Trincomalee from Bengal, gun carriages were repaired, and the fort, by the exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges of the Royal Engineers—who became the senior officer of the station on the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter—was said to have been placed in a formidable state of defence.⁷¹

The garrison of Trincomalee and Fort Ostenburg in 1800 consisted of the 80th Foot, one company of Madras Artillery, 260 gun lascars, and one battalion of Sepoys. Seventy-two pieces of cannon were mounted on the ramparts of Trincomalee, and fifty on those of Fort Ostenburg.⁷²

The Fort of Colombo was found to be in a fairly satisfactory state, but several matters required attention. One of these was the state of the artillery, and we find that the ordnance was greatly increased in the latter part of 1800 and in the beginning of 1801.⁷³ Another difficulty arose from the fact that the Dutch had allowed the Pettah to be built on the Esplanade, apparently close up to the Delft Gate. The question of its removal was raised by Mr. North in 1801,⁷⁴ but further consideration of it was postponed till peace was declared with France. By 25th August, 1802, the matter was taken up again, by which time news had been received of the Peace of Amiens signed on 27th

March. A committee was appointed to value the buildings in the Pettah situated between the Fort and Kayman's Gate. Although it appeared that the original condition on which houses were built in this locality was that Government reserved the right of pulling them down, the enforcement of that condition was apparently not intended against proprietors who agreed to pull down their houses before 1st January, 1807. (*sic*).⁷⁵ These proprietors were apparently to be paid compensation at the assessed rate. As a comment on this anxiety for the impregnability of the Fort of Colombo, it may be noted that the allegation was made by a responsible writer that one of Mr. North's canals left the capital almost defenceless.⁷⁶ The garrison in 1796 was, according to Percival, the 73rd Regiment, half the Madras European Regiment, two companies of Bengal Artillery, and three battalions of Sepoys.⁷⁷ In January, 1803, it consisted of 2 companies of the 19th Foot, 2 companies of the 65th, the 51st, the Ceylon Native Infantry, and a detachment of Bengal Artillery.⁷⁸ The Fort was defended by 300 pieces of heavy cannon.⁷⁹

The Fort of Galle receives attention from the fact that owing to its harbour its resistance would give time for the passage of reinforcements from India in the event of foreign attack.⁸⁰ A contraction of the works is suggested, so as to remove them from high ground which commanded them, and, pending this reconstruction, the said high grounds are to be acquired, and the timber cut down, at a cost of 1,500 rix dollars per month for two years, say, in all, £3,600.⁸¹

The garrison of Galle in July, 1800, consisted of 120 Sepoys, and 120 Malays, each with a European officer, and a small detachment of Bengal Artillery. A commandant, fort adjutant, and garrison surgeon were also stationed there.⁸²

69. *Despatch* of 18th February, 1801 para 217.

70. *Cordiner*, I. 72.

71. *Despatches* of 26th February, 1799, para 18; 5th October, 1801, para 110; 16th March, 1802, para 110.

72. *Despatch* of 1st January, 1801, para 90.

73. *Despatch* of 18th February, 1801, para 229.

74. *Ibid.*, para 220.

75. *Gazette* of 25th August, 1802.

76. *Frewen* *Lord*, p. 77.

77. *Percival*, 1st Edition p. 116.

78. *Gazette* of 19th January, 1803.

79. *Cordiner*, I. 27.

80. But it may be noted that Governor Maitland, in view of the shortage of troops, had arranged to blow up the Fort of Galle in the event of foreign attack—*Despatch* of 24th October, 1805.

81. *Despatch*.

82. *Cordiner*, I. 180.

Little is known of the strength of the other forts, though we find incidental references to some of them. The garrison of Matara, for example, consisted of 100 Malays with an English Captain commandant, but there were no guns, these having been removed to Galle. Again, we find that the ordnance at Mannar was in so bad a state that the customary salute could not be fired on the occasion of an official visit by the Governor.⁸³

Military Expenses.

This extensive and scattered establishment was, at any time, an expensive one, but, as the years went on, its cost increased to an alarming extent. Agnew's estimate, as we have seen, was £180,000 annually, but the actual expenses under the Madras Administration appear to have been less—26,538 star pagodas per month, or, say, £130,000 annually with the star pagoda at 8s. sterling. By the end of 1799, the military expenses had increased considerably⁸⁴ and by October, 1801, reductions in allowances were effected on orders from Home.⁸⁵ Further economies were made possible by the local recruitment of lascars and pioneers⁸⁶ and by the end of 1802, Mr. North was able to report that the military establishment was costing £150,000 less annually than it was at the inception of his Government.⁸⁷

This state of affairs did not, however, last long. The outbreak of the war with Kandy in 1803; the initial disaster and the subsequent unsuccessful and expensive measures of retaliation; and the extravagant ideas of Major-General Wemyss combined to increase the expenditure to such an extent that, in the first six months of 1805, it exceeded that of the whole of 1802, amounting for the half-year to 2,371,657 rix dollars, or say, about £480,000 per annum. Some of the details of the saving effected by Governor Maitland will be found in another place.

One of these items may, however, be mentioned here, that of allowances to army officers,

a subject which the Despatches show to have been one in which much interest was taken by the Government, and, naturally, by the Army. It appears that the Madras Administration had allowed the troops in Ceylon to continue to draw full allowances in addition to their pay even after the active operations resulting in the annexation had come to an end, and Mr. North was unwilling to interfere with this arrangement in the case of troops which had served under that Government.⁸⁸ He noted, however, that they were drawing field allowances, but only doing garrison duty, but was further deterred from altering the arrangement owing to the very high prices of the necessities of life.⁸⁹

The matter was taken up by the Secretary of State, and the occasion of the transfer of the Maritime Provinces from the control of the East India Company to that of the King's Ministers was made use of to make the order that the island allowance was to amount to half batta only.⁹⁰ The carrying out of this order was reported in Governor North's Despatch of 5th, October, 1801, but it was pointed out that further reduction would be impossible while the prices of European goods remained so high. So strongly, indeed, did Mr. North feel on the subject that, when later orders arrived from Home to reduce these allowances further, he "ventured to suspend the Execution of the Reforms ordered"⁹¹ and pointed out that the army was being constantly employed in operations against the Kandians, so that it was not a time for reducing allowances.

The Service Conditions.

In truth, the service conditions, though perhaps no worse than those prevailing elsewhere at the time, would appear, according to modern ideas, to justify high rates of remuneration. For example, it was not thought necessary to make any alteration to adapt the King's uniform of the period to tropical conditions. Apart from the conspicuousness of

83. Cordener, I. 702

84. Despatch of 30th January, 1800. Vol. I, p. 160

85. Despatch of 7th October, 1801. para 89.

86. Despatch of 15th December, 1801, para 87

87. Despatch of 23rd November, 1802.

88. Despatch of 16th February, 1799, para 109.

89. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, para 107.

90. Secretary of State's Despatch of 13th March, 1801, para 107

91. Despatch of 5th October, 1804.

the red jacket, white pantaloons, white belts and brass plate in the cap, the uniform had many other undesirable and even dangerous features. Of these, probably the worst was the unsuitability of the cap or beaver. The aforesaid brass plate in front of it became very hot in the tropical sun and communicated much of its heat to the head. The lower part of the head and neck was entirely exposed to the sun and rain; there was nothing to convey rain-water over the cape of the jacket, with the result that it ran down the soldier's back, and probably laid the foundation of many diseases; while the glazed peak in front reflected the tropical glare into the eyes. The glazed leather cap, adopted by some regiments, was worse than the beaver. When the soldier perspired the leather became moist and stuck to the head, and the cap was so troublesome to keep clean, that it was a common practice for the rank-and-file, when out of sight of an officer, to take off these caps and carry them in a cloth to prevent the varnish being melted by the sun or injured by the rain.⁹²

In addition to these discomforts were those occasioned by the climatic and topographical conditions, and it is not difficult to sympathise with the troops who operated in untracked Kandyan or low-country jungle, in blazing sun or pouring rain, often insufficiently fed and sometimes having lost all their baggage, or to understand why the majority of the casualties was due, not to contact with the enemy, but to the climatic conditions against which the troops were inadequately protected.

The European regiments appear to have suffered particularly from two diseases, beriberi, and Kandyan fever. The former appears to have been a species of dropsy, accompanied with spasms,⁹³ while the latter was compared by the physicians of the day to the yellow fever of the West Indies,⁹⁴ the symptoms being depression, restlessness, delirium, coma, vomiting, yellowness of the skin and eyes. Both diseases were treated by the "affection of the system with mercury,"⁹⁵ while purgatives, emetics, and opium were used for the fever. It is not unlikely that the fever was the later malaria.⁹⁶

92. Johnston's *Narrative*, pp. 107-19.

93. Cordiner, II, 263.

94. *Ibid* 267.

95. 286.

96. The presence of mosquitoes is, so far as I can find, only once mentioned by the contemporary authorities (Cordiner, I, 177.)



PORTUGUESE IN TAMIL.

By REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O. M. I.

IN his oft-quoted work on Ceylon Sir Emerson Tennent wrote: "Already the language of the Dutch which they sought to extend by penal enactments has ceased to be spoken even by their direct descendants, whilst a corrupted Portuguese is, to the present day, the vernacular of the middle classes in every town of importance."¹ This remark still holds good after more than half a century since Tennent wrote. The same author, in a Note, referred to several Portuguese terms in daily use in the English language as spoken in the East. The indigenous speeches of Ceylon are even more indebted to the first European rulers of the Island. In illustration of this remarkable fact the present writer has collected a number of terms either originally Portuguese or brought by the Portuguese here and used in Tamil to the present day. These are presented below leaving the task of doing the same for Sinhalese, to those who are inclined that way.

It has been thought preferable to group the words according to the connexion of the ideas they convey rather than follow their alphabetical order. This arrangement will enable the reader readily to note the influence Portuguese civilization has had on the Tamils

of Ceylon, relieving at the same time the monotony of a vocabulary-like compilation.

Lexicographers, both Tamil and Sinhalese, have stumbled on and excogitated most fanciful derivations for some of these terms of whose true origin they were ignorant. The present attempt, it is believed, will render some slight service also to future labourers in that field.

The following list is by no means exhaustive, nor are all the words here included beyond dispute. In the case of the latter the compiler should be understood, throughout, to speak under correction.

Abbreviations:

- Ar. = Arabic.
- D. = Dutch.
- Dal. = Dalgado's *Influencia do Vocabulario Português em Linguas Asiaticas*, Coimbra 1913.
- Eng. = English.
- Hind. = Hindi.
- Hob. = *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell, New Ed., London, 1903.
- Lat. = Latin.
- P. = Portuguese.
- Pers. = Persian.
- Sinh. = Sinhalese.
- Skt. = Sanskrit.
- Tam. = Tamil.
- Wins. = Winslow's *Tamil-English Dictionary*, Madras, 1862.

1. Flora and Fauna.

Anna-unná, *Annaminná* (அன்னவன்னு அன்னமின்னு) P. *Anona* (*Anona reticulata*), Custard-apple. Originally introduced by the Portuguese from S. America. In Tam. this kind, grown in the gardens, is often called

Parangi annaminná, i.e., *Anona* of the Portuguese, while the ordinary species (*Anona squamosa*) which grows wild is called simply *Annaminná*.

1. Tennent's *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 70.

Áttá (ஆத்தா) P. Atta, another name for the ordinary species of Anona. "Probably the *átā* and its name came to India from Mexico via the Philippines, whilst the anona and its name came to India from Hispaniola via the Cape" (Hob. s.v. Custard-apple.)

Annási, Annatálai (அன்னாசி) Tamilised into அன்னதாழை P. Ananas (*Bromelia ananas*), pine-apple. The word was probably derived from the Brazilian Nana or Nanas. Hob. It has travelled with the fruit round the world.

Kaju (கஜு) also called கொட்டை முந்திரிகை P. Caju (*Anacardium occidentale*), the cashew tree. On the remarkable fact that some plants of American origin have taken so kindly to our soil, see Hob. under Custard-apple.

Koyyá (கொய்யா) P. Goiaba (*Psidium guayava*) from Brazilian Guayaba, guava. Wild in many parts like some other foreign plants.

Kóvi (கோவி) P. Couve, cabbage.

Saládu (சலாது) P. Salada, salad.

Pappáy (பப்பாய்) P. Papaia (*Carica papaya*), Papaw. American word used in Cuba, probably introduced by the Portuguese along with the plant. Some think it came by way of the Philippines and Malacca. (Hob. s.v.) The Tamils do not relish the fruit which is considered medicinal, especially for procuring abortion.

2. The Kitchen and the Cupboard.

Kusini (குசினி). P. Cozinha, Kitchen. This word is mostly used to designate the kitchens of Europeans in particular.

Póraṇai (பொண்ணை) P. Forno, oven, especially for baking bread.

Táchchi (தாச்சி). P. Tacho, copper pot. The Tam., however, may as well be from the D. Taatje.

Vály (வாலி). P. Balde, bucket. See Hob. s.v. Balty. Dalgado, however (s.v.),

Pampiḷás (பம்பிளாஸ்) P. Abobora (*Cucurbita pepo*) whose origin uncertain. Indo-Port. Bobra. The Tam. is probably through Marathi *Bhompla*. (Dal.)

Pippini (பிப்பினி) P. Pepino, cucumber.

Vattáku, Vattakai (வத்தாக்கு, வத்தகை) P. Pateca, also Bateca (Dal.), water-melon (*Cucurbita citrullus*). It is doubtful whether the Portuguese or the Arabs before them brought the plant to Ceylon. The Port. is from the Arabic *albiṭṭikh* (Hob.) Mr. J. G. C. Mendis² was certainly wrong in calling the word Tamil and giving the sense of fruit to the last syllable *kai* (reading *kái*) of the word *vattakai*.

Maiyórk-Kiḷangu (மையோர்க்கிழங்கு) P. Mandioca, mandioc. The word is said to be from the American Manihot. The plant was probably introduced here under the Dutch.

Vattálai (வத்தலை) P. Batata doce as distinguished from batata *de Surrate* or *inglesa*, i.e., the potato, which name is also from the S. American. The plant is a native of America and seems to have been introduced here by the Portuguese with the name. The popular derivation from Sinh. *But-aḷa* is probably ill-founded.

Vilimbi (விலிம்பி) P. Bilimbim (*Averrhoa bilimbi*) "From Malay *balimbing*, most probably introduced in India by the Portuguese" (Dal.)

Váttu (வாத்து) P. Pato, goose. *Váttu* is always distinguished from *Tára* (தாரா), duck, which is indeginous.

inclines towards the Indian origin of the word.

Pingán (பிங்கான்). P. Palangana, basin. The Tam. designates a Chinaware 'plate.' Is it perhaps the same as the Hind. Finján which is said to be derived from the Persian? But compare Sinh. *Palangána* (පලංගන) which seems to confirm the P. origin. A variant of the word (?) *Pisungán* (பிசங்கான்) means pieces from a broken bottle.

Kóppai (கோப்பை) P. Copo, cup. Perhaps influenced also by the D. Kop.

Pirisu (பீரிசு) P. Pires, saucer. "The word *pires* appears to be of Malay origin adopted by the Portuguese and brought to India with *chá* or tea. But the termination *es* or *is* offers some difficulty since *piring* should normally become *pirim*. Perhaps *pires* represents the plural of *pirim* and stands for *pirins*?" Dal.

Vituru (விதறு) P. Vidro, tumbler.

Kárpū (கார்ப்பு) P. Garfo, fork.

Viscôittu (விஸ்கோயித்து) P. Biscoito, biscuit.

Pāṇ (பாண்) P. Pão, bread. Probably through the Sinh., as the word is used in connexion with a particular kind of wheaten bread sold by the Sinhalese.

Kamisu (கமிசு) P. Camisa, shirt. St. Jerome is said to be the first European writer who makes use of the word 'Camisia' in Lat. (*Epist. ad Fabiolam*) Originally, however, it seems to have been derived through Ar. from the Skt. *kshauma* linen, the material of which shirts were made.

Sappāṭṭu (சப்பாத்து) P. Sapato, shoe. The word occurs also in *sappāttup-poo*, shoe-flower.

Páppoosu (பாப்பூசு) P. Papuses, sandals. From Pers. *pā-push* 'foot-covering.'

Mésu (மேசு) P. Meias, stockings. In this sense the Tam. has *kāl-mésu* (கால்மேசு): and *kai-mésu* (கைமேசு) stands for gloves.

Kaḷisán (கலிசான்) P. Calção (for calças), trousers. This word still lingers among Tamil dhobies. *Kaddaik-kalisán* (கட்டைக்கலிசான்) is a narrow coarse web of cloth.

Lénchi (லேஞ்சி) P. Lenço, neck-cloth.

4. Furniture, Stationery &c.

Mésai (மேசை) P. Mesa, table.

Katirai (கதிரை) P. Cadeira, chair.

Vánku (வாங்கு) P. Banco, bench.

Vinnákiri (வின்னுகிரி) P. Vinagre, vinegar.

Achcháru (அச்சாறு) P. Achar, 'pickles.' The word was probably brought by the Portuguese from the Malay peninsula where it might have come from the Pers. "But it is not impossible that Western Asiatics got it originally from the Latin *acetaria*" Hob. s.v. Achár.

Molai (மோலை) P. Molho, sauce. In Tam., however, the usage seems to be restricted to 'rice gruel' and Wins. gives it as a Tamil word and refers to Beschi's *Saturakaradi* 'the four-fold dictionary.'

Arakku (அரக்கு) P. Araca, Orraca and Urraca, arrack. Originally from the Ar. 'arak' 'perspiration,' 'exudation,' 'strong drink'; the Portuguese seem to have made the word current here.

3. Articles of Dress.

Mántai (மான்தை) P. Manto, mantle. Perhaps from D. Mantel Kraag. This is an attachment to girls' jackets under their knot of hair.

Pittai (பித்தை) P. Fita, ribbon.

Réntai (ரென்தை) P. Renda, lace.

Pottán (பொத்தான்) P. Botão, button.

Aluppunétii (அலுப்புநெத்தி) P. Alfinete, pin.

Sáyai (சாயை) P. Saia, petticoat. This loose undergarment is known only among Christians.

Soli (சோலி) ? P. Camisola, women's under-jacket.

Tuváy (துவாய்) P. Toalha, towel.

Villoody (வில்லூடி) P. Veludo, velvet.

Chittai (சித்தை) P. Chita, chintz. "It comes apparently from the Skt. *chitra* 'variegated, speckled.'" Hob.

Kásá (காசா) P. Cassa, muslin.

Alumári (அலுமாரி) P. Almario, almyra (the word originally coming from the Lat. *Armarium*).

Koppar-peddy (கொப்பர் பெட்டி) P. Cofre (and Tam. peddy, box), a chest.

Chávi (சாவி) P. Chave, key.

Chéntai (செந்தை) P. Tenda, tent (over a bedstead).

Urulósai (உருளோசை) P. Relógio, clock. Perhaps the Tam. is rather from the D. Horologie.

Kulóvái (குளோவை) P. Globo, globe.

Lampían (லம்பியான்) P. Lampeão, lamp. The word is mostly in use among Catholics.

Lántarunak-koodu (லாந்தருனாக்கூடு) P. Lanterna (and Tam. Koodu, 'case'), lantern.

Punal (புனல்) P. Funil, funnel.

5. Architecture, Carpentry.

Kappalá (கப்பலா) P. Capella, chapel.

Kamparai (காம்பறை) P. Camara, apartment.

Kiráti (கிரதி) P. Grade, railings.

Channal (சன்னல்) P. Janella, window.

Yalloosi (யல்லூசி) P. Gelosia, lattice.

Tiránku (திரங்கு) P. Tranca, door or window bar.

Virántai (விரந்தை) P. Varanda, verandah. Hob. observes: "This is one of the very perplexing words for which at least two origins may be maintained on grounds equally plausible." The word *varanda* is good Skt., although the meaning in question does not belong to the older Skt., while "either in the same sense or in one closely analogous it

Kadutasi (கடுதாசி) P. Carta or Cartaz, meaning letter and bill respectively. In Tam., however, it stands for paper. Some doubt the Port. origin of the word; but Dal. inclines in its favour. Those who contend for its Arabic origin should note that it is the European paper and no other which was known as *kadutási*. We have another word coming from the Ar. Kāgat, viz., *kákitam* (காகிதம்) given by Wins. as Tam.! *Kadutási* also means 'Cards' of the well-known game, but the names of the cards are all from the D.

Pénai (பெனா) P. Pena, pen.

Tintai (தீந்தை) P. Tinta, ink, also tint.

Lakkiri (லாக்கிரி) P. Lacre, sealing-wax.

appears to have existed quite independently. in Portuguese and Spanish." Hob.

Rótai (ரோதை) P. Roda, circular opening. In Tam. a rose-window.

Chiméntu (சீமெந்து) P. Cemento, cement.

Pippá (பீப்பா) P. Pipa, a large cask.

Addálai (அட்டாளி) P. Atalaia, watch-tower. In Tam. a wooden structure for watching from. Cf. Sinh. අටලාය.

Alavánu (அலவாங்கு) P. Alavanca, crowbar.

Pikkán (பிக்கான்) P. Picão, pick-axe.

Maduttal (மடித்தல்) P. Martello, hammer.

Virumi (விறுமி) P. Verruma, gimlet. Origin disputed. See Dal. Boring bits used with the brace are known by the D. name *Avegaar* in Tam. ஆவுகார்.

6. Fine Arts.

Kantári (கந்தாரி) P. Cantar, to sing, used for the European way of singing alone.

Vailá (வையிலா) P. Bailar, to dance. European dances are thus known.

Pulasantór (புலசந்தோர்) P. Prazen-teiro, merry-maker? A story-teller in a drama who appears at the commencement *ad cap-tandam benevolentiam*.

Varatti (வரத்தி) P. Barrete, cap. Peculiar head dress for dramas.

Ravukkignai (ரவக்கிஞ்ஞை) P. Rabecinha? from Rabeca, fiddle.

Sarappiná (சரப்பினா) P. Harpinha? from Harpa, harp.

Tampéru (தம்பேறு) P. Tambor, drum.

Méstiri (மேஸ்திரி) P. Mestre, artist.

Pintári (பிந்தாரி) P. Pintar, to paint. Pintárippu is a picture.

Chómparai (சோம்பறை) P. Sombra, shading.

Tintai (தீந்தை) P. Tinta, colour.

Varnisu (வாணிசு) P. Verniz, varnish. The Tam. may be from English as well.

Títal (திதான்) P. Dedal, thimble.

7. Offices, Employments, Designations.

Empirador (எம்பிரதோர்) P. Emperador, Emperor.

Kommándór (கொம்மாண்டோர்) P. Comendador, commander.

Kappittán (கப்பித்தான்) P. Capitão, Captain.

Cholutátu (சொலுதாது) P. Soldado, soldier.

Pión (பீயோன்) P. Peão, peon. This word is apparently through the Eng. See Hob.

Iraisuvatór (இரைசுவதோர்) P. Recebedor, receiver. A sort of Kanakkappulle.

Chakkiduttár (சக்கிடுத்தார்) P. Secretario, secretary. Cf. also D. Secretaris.

Tuppási (துப்பாசி) P. Topazio, Topaz, topaz. The word is originally Indian, but the exact source is hotly disputed.³

Mistisu (மிஸ்திசு) P. Mestiço, Eurasian.

Kamániár (கமான்யார்) P. Caminheiro, a travelling officer. The word is used in Tam. for men in the Engineering Department.

Kamán Pokiratu (கமான் போகிரது) is to go on circuit for official visits, &c.

Alukósu (அலுகோசு) P. Algoz, hangman.

Appukkattu (அப்புக்காத்து) P. Advocado, advocate. A. D. origin from Advokaat, is just as likely.

Áyá (ஆயா) P. Aia, nurse.

Tónai, Nóná, Nóyai (தோனே, நோனா, நோ

யை) P. Dona, title of a lady from Lat. Domina. Nóna is a term used to designate European ladies, while Nóyai seems restricted to Eurasians. Tónai is a common name among the Christians of Delft. Some claim the Port. Senhora as the origin of Nona, on which see Dal. s. v. Dona.

Ton (தோன்) P. Dom, title of honour. This is still affixed to some Tam. names such as *Ton Suwán* (Dom João).

Chignór (சிஞ்ஞோர்) P. Senhor, title of honour.

Cham, Chanta (சம், சந்த) P. São, Santo, Santa, saint.

Ulandésu (உலாந்தேசு) P. Hollandez, Hollander.

Kompágna (கொம்பாஞ்) P. Companhia, Company.

Káppiry (காப்பிரி) P. Cafre, Negro.

Irappiramattu (இரப்பிரமத்து) P. Reformado, the 'reformed' religion.

Kattólikku (கத்தோலிக்கு) P. Catholico, catholic.

Pátiry (பாதிரி) P. Padre, father. Formerly, of course, this was a title applied to Catholic priests; but now it is exclusively used in Ceylon to designate Protestant ministers. In India the old usage still holds good.

Visuppu (விசுப்பு) P. Bispo, bishop.

Páppu (பாப்பு) P. Papa, pope.

8. War, Navigation, Traffic.

Paddálam (பட்டாளம்) P. Batalhão, battalion.

Turuppu (துருப்பு) P. Tropa, troop.

Chippáy (சிப்பாய்) P. Cipai (from Pers. sipāhi) sepoy.

Piranki (பிரங்கி) From a name given to the Portuguese and Europeans in general (through Pers. Farangī, Firingī) a cannon. Hob. says: "Piringi in Tel.= 'cannon,' just as in the Medieval Mohammedan historians we find certain mangonels for sieges called *maghribi* or 'Westerns.'" s. v. Firinghee. See

also Dal., p. 10. Wins. derives the word thus: "பீர் formidable et அங்கி, fire." This is surely far fetched.

Tupákki (துபாக்கி) ? P. Topaz. I give this tentatively on the analogy of the above. On Topaz Hob. has this: "It is possible that it was originally a corruption of Pers. (from Turkish) *top-chi*, 'a gunner.'"

Vainattu (வயினத்து) P. Baioneta, bayonet.

Vallam (வள்ளம்) P. Balão, canoe. The word is originally from the Gujarati *baliyan* (Dal.)

3. See the whole discussion summarised in *Ceylon Antiquary and Lit. Rev.*, Vol. II, pp. 124-7.

Vattai (வத்தை) P. Batel, boat, see Hob.: Batel and Pattello.

Kalappattadikkiratu (கலப்பத்தடிக்கிறது) P. Calafetar, to caulk.

Kumpāsu (கும்பாசு) P. Compasso, compass. Perhaps influenced by Eng. also.

Ōrisā (ஓரிசா) P. Orça (andar ā) to work to windward.

Naṅkooram (நங்கூரம்) P. Ancora, anchor. Wins. refers to the Hind. இலங்கர். There is indeed an Indian word (Skt.) *Langala* in the sense of 'plough,' but in that of 'anchor' the word is European from Lat. *Anchora*.

Amār (அமார்) P. Amarra, cable. Called also *Kampān-kairo*, perhaps from the same source?

Karattai (கரத்தை) P. Carrete, Carreta, small cart.

Rótai (ரோதை) P. Roda, wheel.

Achchu (அச்சு)? P. Eixo, axle-tree. It is equally probable that this word is from the Skt. *Aksha*. Kathiravelpillai, in his monumental Tam. Dictionary, quotes Kanta-purānam, for the use of this word in the sense of axle which appears to be conclusive evidence in favour of its Skt. origin.

Chāvi (சாவி) P. Chave, key. Here the word is used for the pin which holds the yoke of a cart in position.

Kutam (குதம்) P. Gudão, godown. The word "appears to have come primarily from the south of India where in Telugu *giḍḍangi*, *giḍḍangi*, in Tamil *kiḍḍangu* signify 'a place where goods lie' from *kidu* to lie" (Hob.) The root is rather *kida* and we have the form *kiḍḍangi* also in Tam. See Wins.

Chippam (சிப்பம்) P. Jibão, a pack forming a man's load. Wins. derives it from Telugu. Dal. says it is primarily from the Ar. *Jubba*.

Pādam (பாடம்)? P. Fardo, a bale. Wins. gives it a Tam. derivation.

Ampar (அம்பர்)? P. Ambar, amber. Possibly direct from the original Ar. *Anbar* or *Anbarum*.

Elam (ஏலம்) P. Leilão, auction. The word *Ventisu* (வெஸ்தீசு) is also in use. The latter is the D. *Venditie* or *Vendutjie*.

Kurósu (குரோசு)? P. Grosa, a gross. Perhaps from the Eng.?

Irátal (இரத்தல்) P. Arratel, a pound. The word is of Ar. origin '*Ratl* or *Ritl* which again is said to be from the Greek *Litra*. The Tam. is most probably through the P. The place where fish rent is collected is also called இரத்தல். Is it from the D. *Rath-Huiz* or *Rath-Sala*?

Iraíal (இரையால், இறைசால்) P. Real, a real,—coin varying in value.

Tambákku (தம்பாக்கு) P. Tambaca or Tambaque, tambac. "From Malay *Tambaga* (which comes from Skt. *Tamṛka*, brought into India by the Portuguese" (Dal.) *Tambák-kasu* in Tam. means a very small coin. It often occurs in the Memoirs of the Dutch Governors of Ceylon. See that of Hendrick Zwaardercroon (1697), p. 61, where the following grades of coinage are mentioned: *Rix-dollars*, *fannums*, *tamme-kassen* and *duyten*.

Vaddam (வட்டம்) P. Batão, agio. A word of Indian origin confounded with another word, *batta* from the same source. "The most probable explanation is that the word (and I may add, the thing) originated in the Portuguese practice, and in the use of the Canarese word *bhatta*, Mahr. *bhāt*, 'rice' in the 'husk,' called by the Portuguese *bate* and *batá*, for a maintenance allowance" (Hob). See also under *Vattá*, *infra*.

9. Judicial and Revenue.

Tómpu (தோம்பு) P. Tombo, public register of lands.

Peddisam (பெட்டிசம்) P. Petição, petition.

Testaméntu (தெஸ்தமெந்து) P. Testamento, testament.

Racttu (ரக்து) P. Receita, receipt.

Tulanku (தலங்கு) P. Tronco. prison. In Tam. used for the stocks.

Kamān-pokiratu (கமான் போகிறது) P. Caminhar. to travel. Used for Government Officers' circuits.

Vattā (வத்தா) P. Bata. officers' allowance. See *supra* s.v. *Vuddam*.

Akkuttu (அக்குத்து) P. Auto. official papers. In Tam. 'act of appointment.' Is the word from D. *Acte*?

Nottisu (நோத்திசு) P. Noticia. notice.

Chittāri (சித்தாரி) P. Citar. to cite. But the nonn சித்த-சி seems to be from the D.

10. Social, Religious, &c.

Chitāri (சிடாரி) P. Cidade. city.

Ikirēsu, Irēsa (இகிரேசு ஈரேசா) P. Igreja. church.

Asuppattiri (அசுப்பத்திரி) P. Hospital. through the Indo-Portuguese : *Esprital*. See Dal.

Iskólai (இஸ்கோலை) P. Escola. school.

Tavarānai (தவரணை) P. Taberna, tavern.

Kasātu (கசாது) P. Casado (for casamento). marriage.

Masuvātu (மசுவாது) P. Amancebado (for Amancebamento). 'keeping a mistress'—concubinage.

Pirāsar (பிரசர்) P. Prazer, pleasure [party.] A sort of picnic held after feasts of the church.

Nattāl (நத்தால்) P. Natal. Christmas.

Kurōsumai (குரோசுமை) P. Quaresma, lent.

Pūsku (புஸ்கு) P. Paschoa, Easter.

Atventu (அத்வெந்து) P. Advento, advent.

Aduttār (அடுத்தார்) P. Altar, altar.

Tavanākkulu (தவனாக்குலு) P. Tabernaculo, tabernacle.

Kattirisāl (கத்திரிசால்) P. Castical, candle-stick.

Kurusupikkāsu (குருசு பிக்காசு) P. Crucificação, crucifix.

Kurusu (குருசு) P. Cruz, cross.

Purantāl (புரந்தால்) P. Frontal, frotnal.

Citatie. Perhaps the P. Citação was influenced by the D.

Kontirāttu (கொந்திரத்து) P. Contrata. contract.

Kontisu (கொந்திசு) P. Condisoes, terms of a contract.

Aluppānti (அலுப்பாந்தி) P. Alfandega, custom-house. The P. is from Ar. al-funduk, which itself is derived from the Greek *Pandokeion*.

Tirvai (திரவை) P. Direito, customs-duty. Wins. gives the word as Tam., but it is doubtful. Cf. Sinh. තිරුව

Suttān (சுத்தான்) P. Sotana, cassock.

Lóvu (லோவு) P. Loba, cassock.

Amittu (அமித்து) P. Amito, amice.

Alvai (ஆல்வை) P. Alva, alb.

Kasulā (கசலா) P. Casula, chasuble.

Istóla (இஸ்தோலா) P. Estola, stole.

Kodutām (கொடுதாம்) P. Cordão, cord.

Kalīsu (கலிசு) P. Calis, chalice.

Misal (மிசல்) P. Missal, missal.

Misa (மிசா) P. Missa. Mass.

Chuppiḷisu (சுப்பிḷிசு) P. Sobre-pelliz. surplice.

Kāppai (காப்பை) P. Capa, cope.

Turivil (துரிவில்) P. Thuribulo, censer.

Navittu (நவித்து) P. Navetta, incense-box.

Osty (ஓஸ்தி) P. Hostia, host.

Chakkiristy (சக்கிரிஸ்தி) P. Sacristia, vestry.

Tómpai (தோம்பை) P. Tumba, bier.

Putpak-koodu (புற்பக்கூடு) P. Pulpito (and koodu-box), pulpit.

Charólai (சரோலை) P. Charola, andor for procession of images. (see Hob.) D. Ferguson suspects "that in *charola* two words, one of Latin and one of Eastern origin, have been confused."⁴

Ispirito-Sántu (இஸ்பிரித்து சாந்து) P. Espírito Santo, Holy Ghost.

Anchu (ஆஞ்சு) P. Anjo, angel.

Sattanāsu (சத்தாநாசு) P. Satanaz, Satan.

Appóstolu (அப்போஸ்தோலு) P. Apostolo, apostle.

Vikkariu (விக்காரியு) P. Vigario, vicar.

Misiónary (மிசியோனரி) P. Missionario, missionary.

Misám (மிசாம்) P. Missão, mission.

Pelisanti (பெலிசந்தி) P. Presidente, president (*moopu* of a church).

Modutám (மொடுதாம்) P. Mordomo, steward.

Melinchy (மெலிஞ்சி) P. Mereinho, accountant?

Sankilistám (சங்கிலிஸ்தாம்) P. Sacristão, sexton.

Kristavan (கரிஸ்தவன்) P. Cristão,

Kumpátiry (கும்பாதிரி) P. Compadre, god-father.

Kummatiry (கும்மாதிரி) P. Comadre, god-mother.

Mattiróna (மத்திரோனா) P. Matrona, matron.

Martir (மார்திரி) P. Martyr, martyr.

Puoppétu (புருப்பேத்து) P. Propheta, prophet.

Maiyór (மையோர்) P. Maior, great [in *Santiógu maiyór* St. James the Great.]

Víviliam (விவிலியம்) P. Biblia, Bible.

Vanchili (வஞ்சிலி) P. Evangelho, gospel.

Manuvále (மனுவாலெ) P. Manual, manual of prayers.

Oppisu (ஒப்பீசு) P. Officio, [dos defuntos], Office of the dead.

Pasám (பசாம்) P. Paixão, Passion of Our Lord.

Pásu (பாசு) P. Passo [da paixão de J. C.] representation of the Passion.

Ventignai (வெந்திஞை) P. Bentinho, scapular.

Varónikkam (வரோணிக்கம்) P. Veronica, medal.

Kontai-mañi (கொந்தைமணி) P. Contas, beads, and Tam. *mañi* also meaning bead. Cf. Sinh. කොනික.

Chakkiraméntu (சக்கிரமேந்து) P. Sacramento, sacrament.

Puruvattóry (புருவத்தேரி) P. Purgatorio, Purgatory. In modern usage the word signifies Ecclesiastical funds.

Konchénchi (கொஞ்சேஞ்சி) P. Conceição, [Immaculate] Conception [of the Virgin Mary]

Tas-Névisu (தஸ்நேவிசு) P. Das neves, [Our Lady] of Snows.

Rósáilu (ரோசாயிலு) P. Rosario, Rosary.

Nóvinai (நோவினை) P. Novena, devotion of nine days. Applied to evening religious celebrations.

Véspar (வேஸ்பர்) P. Vespera, Vespers.

Tiruntáti (திருந்தாதி) P. Trindades, tolling of the 'Angelus' bell.

Kompisári (கொம்பிசாரி) P. Confessar, to confess.

Kompisam (கொம்பிசம்) P. Confessão, confession.

Ventisári (வெந்திசாரி) P. Benzer, to bless.

Perakám (பெறகாம்) P. Pregão, proclamation [of bans]

Dizimai (டிசிமை) P. Dizimo, tithe

II. Varia.

Kodutár (கொடுதார்) P. Cortar, to cut.

Kappáttu (கப்பாத்து) P. Capado (for Capadura) gelding. Also in the sense of pruning trees.

Pekkinás (பெக்கினஸ்) P. Os pequenos, poor people.

Alappári (அலப்பாரி) P. Repicar, to ring the bells on some festive day.

Paḍḍasu (பட்டாசு) P. Petardo, crackers.

Chikkár-áy (சிக்காராய்) P. Seguro, 'firm,' 'secure.' In Tam. the sense is 'firmly.'

Ilásady (இலாசடி) Wins. marks the word 'Foreign.' Can it be from the P. Laçada, slip-knot? In Tam. the meaning is 'troublesome.'

Chavukkáram (சவுக்காரம்) I suspect this word for soap is from the P. Sabão. Cf. Sinh. සබුන්. Wins. derives it from the Skt. *Sarva-kshára*.

Pássaiyoor (பாசையூர்) P. Passo, in the sense of 'caes' or a quay and *oor* 'village.' This is the name of an important fishing village about a mile and a half south-east of the Jaffna Fort.

NAMES OF THE PORTUGUESE FORTS ON JAFFNA ISLANDS.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

AT the western entrance of the straits that separate the islands of Karaïttivu and Velanai, there is upon an islet a small fort now bearing a Dutch name, viz.. "Hammenhiel." The original fort here was built by the Portuguese, and was captured from them by the Dutch in 1658 after a siege which lasted a fortnight. The plan of this fort was probably followed when the Dutch rebuilt it, as they did shortly afterwards, for it was considered "the key of Jaffna," and possibly some of the existing fort is Portuguese work. There remains the question—What was the Portuguese name of the fort? On this point the following is a summary of the evidence, so far as I have been able to collect it.

There is in the British Museum a plan of Jaffna, the date of which is 1646, by Barretto de Resende. This has been examined by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson who knew more of Portuguese Ceylon than any other writer of his or the present day, and he makes two references to this plan among his numerous notes to the text of the different Portuguese and Dutch writers on Ceylon whose works he has introduced to Ceylon readers in the pages of the 'Journals' of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the 'Ceylon' and 'Monthly Literary Registers' published by Messrs. A. M. and J. Ferguson under his editorship or direction from 1887 to 1894.

In C.L.R., Vol. v, p. 208 (1891), he says "In Ressende's plan of Jaffna fort the little fortress between the island of Velanai . . . and Karaïttivu is called '*Fortaleza do caes*' (Fortress of the Quay) and hence the Dutch name of 'Cays' and the English 'Kayts.'" And

in the next note but one he says that Karaïttivu is called "*Fortaleza do caes*," which is certainly wrong. But in a note on a paragraph of De Couto's, a translation of whose "*History of Ceylon*" he published in the *Journal* of the Ceylon Asiatic Society for 1908, he makes rather a different statement as to the position of the *fortaleza do caes* on Ressende's map. De Couto had stated that the city of Jaffna "had only two places where one could disembark; the first, and most usual, called the Elephants' Quay, which lies at the entrance to the city . . . the other was half a league from there at some distance from the city" (page 185.)

Now, there is no difficulty about the "Elephants' Quay," it is on the island of Karaïttivu (Amsterdam) exactly opposite Kayts village which is on the island of Velanai (Leyden), and may be seen at the present day. The description "at the entrance to the city" is quite correct too as applied to this position: the strait between these islands is an "entrance to the city." But as to the *fortaleza do caes* Mr. Ferguson here says in a note: "In Ressende's map of Jaffna . . . the *fortaleza do caes* is shown on a point of land very near to the fort, a narrow channel intervening," and the context shows that by "the fort" here he means the Jaffna fort, to which he had just referred. But this statement is not compatible with his earlier statement that the plan shows the *fortaleza do caes* as "a little fortress between . . . Velanai and Karaïttivu."

Further reference to Ressende's map, therefore, would seem to be necessary before it can be definitely asserted, as Mr. Ferguson

does just before this (note 2), that "On the little islet opposite" (Elephants' Quay) between Karaitivu and Velanai, the Portuguese built a fort, which they named '*fortaleza do caes*' (renamed by the Dutch Hammenhiel)." Mr. Ferguson himself finds something curious in this name as applied to Hammenhiel; for he says: "Through some strange blunder the word *caes* as a proper name got transferred to a place on Velanai, which still exists and flourishes under the name of Kayts." In my opinion there was no blunder, the *fortaleza do caes* was not the fort on the islet at all, but the fort on the island of Kayts (Velanai) immediately opposite and due south of it at the N. W. corner of that island and only half a mile or so west of the Kayts resthouse, and of which considerable ruins still exist as described in the *Ceylon Anti-quary*, Vol. II. p. 94.

It is remarkable that Mr. Ferguson's later description of its place on the map would be quite accurate provided we could interpret the word "fort" in it as referring not to the Jaffna fort but to the fort on the islet, now known as Hammenhiel. "The *fortaleza do caes*," he says, is shown on a point of land very near to the fort, a narrow channel intervening." There is no fort "very near" the Jaffna fort to which this description could possibly apply. "In the absence of any contemporary . . . accurate map," says Mr. Ferguson, "it is very difficult to follow Couto," and we know how in some maps, old as well as new, names of insignificant places sometimes occupy miles and it is difficult to say whether a particular place is meant to be located at the beginning of the name or miles away at the end of it. From his two differing accounts of the location of this *fortaleza* on Ressende's map it is evident that he himself was not clear as to the matter.

Another instance of this kind of difficulty is to be found in attempting to locate the other place of disembarkation mentioned by

De Couto. He says that it was "half-a-league from there at some distance from the city." Mr. Ferguson, in my opinion, misinterprets the words "from there" as meaning "from the town of Jaffna," whereas it is clear on reading the whole passage that they refer to the Elephants' Quay, as is further evidenced by the words which follow, "at some distance from the city." Misled by this mistake Mr. Ferguson suggests that "the other place" of disembarkation was either Nivanturai to the west of Jaffna or Karaiyur or Pasaiyur to the east. But none of these places is within two miles from Elephants' Quay, neither would it be other than misleading to describe them as "at some distance from the city." The other place must have been somewhere on Velanai or Karaitivu I think, but not being now on the spot it is impossible for me to offer any opinion worth considering on the subject.

But as to "*fortaleza do caes*" meaning Kayts fort and no other I have little doubt. Mr. Ferguson, however, says of Hammenhiel, "the Dutch writers called it 'Cays' (Kaits) or Hammenhiel." Not having access to Baldaeus and Valentyn here I should be glad to know whether they are among them. They may have been mistaken, and Valentyn was not careful to be accurate—to put it mildly. Haafner alone of all writers on Ceylon, whether Portuguese or Dutch, tells us that Hammenhiel fort was called by the Portuguese "Reil," which Mr. Ferguson suggests may be a mistake for "*real*" (royal). This may be so, as there is no word *riel* in Portuguese. But I am inclined myself to think that it is a mistake of Haafner for some such periphrasis as "*fortaleza do rio*," the fort of the river.¹ However this may be, the fact that Haafner gives this name as the Portuguese name and says nothing about "*fortaleza do caes*" seems to be negative evidence of a sort against the latter.

The same may be said of Ribeiro. He nowhere mentions the "*fortaleza do caes*,"

1. The word river was often applied by the Portuguese in Ceylon to straits or inlets from the sea, as at Mannar, Jaffna Kayts, Chilaw, etc.

but says : " At the entrance of the bar, which was little more than two leagues distant from the town, we had a fort next to that of the Ape." That this was the fort on the islet is clear from what he goes on to say.—" The enemy placed batteries on the point of the *caes dos elefantes*, because in that quarter the fort was nearest to the land," which shows that it was a fort in the sea. This point having been settled beyond doubt, we are able to identify the other fort, " the Fort of the Ape " (O Bogio) mentioned by Ribeiro—also without doubt, though its identity never seems to have occurred to anyone before, probably because the existence of the ruined fort on Kayts island was practically unknown to anyone out of Jaffna. As the islet fort was " next to that of the Ape,"² the latter can only be the fort on Kayts island. There is not a mile of water between the two and there is no other fort in the vicinity. The fort of the Ape, therefore, was the *fortaleza do caes*.

It is curious that one other name has been assigned to this fort on Kayts island, but that only by one writer and that a modern—neither Portuguese nor Dutch. The name is " Fort Eyrie " and the writer " Penn " whose description of the fort appears in the *Colombo Journal* of 27th July, 1832. He does not give us his

authority for the name ; presumably he had heard it on the spot, but it is now unknown locally. I cannot explain it ; it seems a sort of ghost name. But that this fort was the Fort of the Ape seems to me a certainty.

I may add that Velanai is no more the name of the island on which the village of Kayts stands than is Kayts itself—less in fact. It is the name of one of the three sub-divisions of the island, the others being Urkávatturai or Kayts and Allaippiddi, each name being that of a village in the sub-division, and Velanai being the central sub-division. The Dutch called the island, which until then appears to have been known as Urkávatturai, Leyden. The tendency now is to call it Velanai, which is the name adopted by the Survey Department, I believe, and by Mr. Donald Ferguson, but this is quite a modern idea. Baldaens calls it " Leyden *olim* Ourature." and Casie Chitty, says that the Sinhalese called it by this name " Ooratotte " or hog-ferry, owing to a legend about Sakra in the form of a hog swimming across from the Coromandel coast and landing here. But the original Tamil name for the whole island seems to have been Urkávatturai, " port where the village guard was kept," and the hog story seems to have been evolved out a corruption of this name. Perhaps it was *vice versa*.

2. Translation by Donald Ferguson in *C.L.R.*, Vol. v, p. 201. Mr. Pieris translates " similar to that of the Ape." (*Ribeiro*, translation by P. Pieris, p. 387).

3. Urstura and Urstota are, of course, interchangeable in Sinhalese, e.g., Kalutara and Kalutota, Gindura and Gintota, Beralapanatara and Beralapanatota, Bentara and Bentota, etc.

THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. V. Part I. Page 41).

IX. MANAR AND GALLE.

THE Portuguese did not fully realise the important part that Galle was destined to play in the warfare with the Hollanders. Galle was the first objective of the Hollanders in Ceylon, and, though it served as a landmark for eastern navigation, its due defence had long been neglected. But the Portuguese colony of Galle was, according to the Jesuit historian De Queyroz, the most important which the King of Portugal had in Ceylon.²⁴⁵ Situated in the heart of the Dissava of Mature, says De Queyroz, this town was surrounded by a country abounding in rice, cinnamon and other products. Its name should be Galgue, which, in Sinhalese, means a stone; for the town is built on a rock. The *fortaleza* was a long, low, irregular structure, extensive in size, but of no strength, and it was supplied with less artillery and men than its defence required, especially after the outbreak of the European war.

There were many Christians in the district, and the Franciscans had built several churches. The first Christian church was built about 1543 by the Franciscans, but it was destroyed by Widiye Bandára a dozen years later. Little daunted by the destruction, they set to work again, and, by the time the Jesuits arrived in Galle, the Franciscans were established in several churches along the southern coast; from Our Lady of Victories in Matara, one of the handsomest churches in Ceylon, to St. Anthony's in Alutgama, there were in all about a dozen churches.²⁴⁶ In the *fortaleza* of Galle there were two principal churches and an Oratory. One, a convent of the Franciscans, with cloisters and dormitories and church (of the Conception), in which the sacraments were administered to more than 2,000 Christians living outside the Fort. The other was the church of the Dominicans, Our Lady of the Rosary,²⁴⁷ built for them by Pero Veloso, the first Captain of Galle.

245. De Queyroz, *Conq.*, p. 27.

246. *Ib.*, p. 584.

a. *Nossa Sra de Boa Viagem da Marzen*, (Our Lady of Good Voyage, Miraseth) "sobre a fermosa bazu q' ult' abre o mar"

b. Church of St. Michael, in the port of Weligama.

c. *Nossa Sra. dos Remedios* Anjame, (Our Lady of Remedies, Ahangama).

d. St. Joseph of Cogala (Koggala) where many miracles were wrought.

e. Church of the Nativity of Christ, situated at a league and a half to the north-west, across the lake of Koggala.

f. St. John the Baptist at Vacuela (Wakwella) on the river.

g. St. Louis, Raygama (Ratgama).

h. Our Lady of Guadalupe, Vadum (Hikkaduwa,) "q. q. dizer, espada do Diabo"

i. St. Clara, Madampe.

j. The Holy Magi, Vilitota (Welitara).

k. *Nossa Sra. da Boa Viagem, Cosboddem* (Our Lady of Good Voyage, Kosgoda) Cf. *Port. Era*, ii, 476-478.

247. Courtenay, 512

The Portuguese inhabitants of Galle heard of the activities of the Jesuits in Colombo, and invited the Rector to send a Jesuit Father to preach the Lent of 1620. A Father was accordingly sent, and his ministry was so successful that many who lived at enmity with one another were reconciled, to the great edification of the townspeople, devotions and exercises of piety popular with the Portuguese were restored, and "the people began to live like Christians once more."

The enthusiasm was so great that they invited the Jesuits to build a church in Galle, promising to give a site, and to pay the expenses of the building and the maintenance of the Missionary. This eagerness to secure the Jesuits was probably due to the reputation of the Jesuit College of Colombo. The people of Galle, naturally enough, wished to have a suitable school for the education of their children. Negotiations were accordingly opened with the Society and the Bishop of Cochin, and after some delay the proposal was carried out to the satisfaction of both the Jesuits and the inhabitants of Galle. A church of the Mother of God was commenced "on the cape," and two Jesuits, a Father and a Lay Brother, took up

their residence, temporarily, in the *casa de Misericordia*, and kept a school.

In March, 1621, the new Residence was inaugurated, and the church is described as progressing and already half built, with money liberally contributed by the Commandant and the Christians. When the Captain-General of Colombo visited Galle, he formally handed over to the Father a village for the support of the Residence. And in this village the Father succeeded in converting and baptising four adults. "During Lent much good was done with God's grace, by the Father's sermons on the Passion. He preached three times a week: on Sundays in the principal church, on Wednesdays in the *Misericordia*, and on Saturdays in the church of St. Dominic. In the afternoons he taught Christian doctrine to the children of the school, and at its conclusion the children were taught to sing such charming hymns that it attracted many people." The Father also taught in the school which was in charge of the Brother.

The Residence of Galle was under the administration of the Rector of Colombo, but there is little recorded of Galle, save occasionally the names of the Jesuits stationed in it.^{24*}

Capture of Galle by Hollanders.

The next we hear of Galle is its capture by the Hollanders, "when the hand of God, more than the Hollanders, was against us." Three Jesuits were among the prisoners taken by the Dutch: Fr. Louis Pinto, Superior of the Residence, Fr. Antonio Delgado the assistant, and Fr. Pedrosa, the military chaplain, who was also wounded.

"When the perfidious Hollanders took Galle, at the cost of 900 of their men, Fr. Pedrosa who had accompanied the army was seriously wounded. A young soldier carried him on his shoulders to a place of safety, but the Father did not cease to animate the Portuguese to fight valiantly in defence of the faith and of the territories of the King. But at last the Captain Mor, Francis Mendosa Furtado,

was killed and our small army was defeated. Father Pedrosa was taken to Jacatara along with two other Fathers of the Society, Louis Pinto and Ant. Delgado, who were within the fortress encouraging the Portuguese to fight gallantly, as indeed they did, till, tired of killing the Hollanders, they were overcome by the enemy who entered the fortress over heaps of dead bodies, and captured all who were found alive." The unfortunate Portuguese were all assembled in the Jesuit church whence they were taken to Batavia along with the Jesuits. During their captivity the Jesuits were of great assistance to the poor Christians who were much harassed by the Hollanders. The Fathers soon succeeded in gaining their liberty, by what means we are not told.

24*. 1623. F. Gonzalus Paes & Br. Blasius Serranus.
1627. F. Joannes Maria Grecus, & Br. Bernadus Georgius.
1628. F. Simon da Leiva, & Br. Ludovicus Cardoso.
1634. F. Joannes Camello, & F. Emmanuel Martins.

The fate of Galle was revealed to a holy Lay Brother of Cochin, Pedro de Basto.²⁴⁹ and the news of the fall of Galle was received with great consternation in India. It was felt by the Portuguese that the hand of the Lord was upon them, and a long penitential procession was organised in Cochin a description of which covers 10 folio pages of a close-written manuscript, and is prefaced by the following homily :—

"It has been the way of God from ancient times to chastise, with the loss of possessions, cities and kingdoms, even those whom He loves most, when they stray from the path of His commandments, and offend Him, returning evil for the benefits received from Him. Thus we read that, though He loved the people of Israel very much, treating them at one time with the honours of a first-born and an heir, at other times as the youngest and most beloved son, whom He carried in his arms nourishing him with the manna of heaven and the bread of Angels, yet as soon as they severed from Him, offending Him grievously, He not only withdrew His endearments and honours, but even permitted the gentiles, as the instruments of His justice, to take their cities and kingdoms, and make them captives and put them in chains.

"It is, however, no less God's way to put aside the scourge from His hands, turning chastisements into favours, if, when He threatens chastisement and has already begun to inflict them for sins, He sees contrite hearts, men repentant and dressed in penance. This was well experienced by the inhabitants of Nineve, when, hearing the threats of chastisement, they put on garments of sack-cloth, and God ceased to chastise them. It was also seen in the kingdom of David, which was already sorely chastised. When David repented and begged for pardon, God not only ceased to punish them, but even changed His rigor into love and benevolence.

"There is no doubt that the Portuguese in India were at first the children of God, whom He sometimes treated as His heirs, giving them victories over their enemies, at other times as

His youngest son, giving favours never before given. But all this so long as they recognised God as their Father, and gave Him no offence : but when they lost the love and fear of God, and began to offend Him grievously as we know, what prevents Him from withdrawing His favours, and from permitting the rebellious Dutch to take their cities and drag the Portuguese as captives, and put them in chains in the jails of Jacathara ?

"What is the means to stop such punishments, and to put an end to those that still threaten India ? There is certainly nothing better, nor more efficacious, than penance, not only to stop those that are to come, but even to mitigate those that are now being inflicted. As this visitation is from heaven and not from earth, let the city of Cochin do penance, and propitiate God's justice, that the punishment sent to Ceylon, and those that threaten India, may be averted.

"When the sad news was known in Cochin, of the fatal loss of the *fortaleza* of Ceylon, which was taken by the Dutch, with such destruction of the Portuguese that the Dutch were on the point of mastering the whole island, which is the heart of India, the Provincial M. de Almeida ordered two Fathers to go and meet the Bishop of Cochin, and consult with him about the best remedy for such grave evils, and to avert those still to come : and as the most efficacious of all, not only to pacify the Divine justice, but even to excite His benevolence on India, is true contrition, sorrow for sin and penance, if it pleased His Lordship it would be good to exhort all to go in procession with the Blessed Sacrament and beseech God Our Lord to have mercy.

"As Cochin was inhabited by many Religious of great piety and zeal, they looked upon it as a message from heaven, and answered that they were ready for so holy a work. Though the Bishop was on his way visiting the diocese, he left orders to carry out the proposal."

And carried out it was with great solemnity.

APPENDIX—Annual Letters, A.D. 1641-1654.

1641.

THE RESIDENCE OF MANÁR.

[Manoel Sylveiro, 17 JANUARY, 1641.]

AS the island of Manár is part of the island of Ceylon, it can well be seen that when troubles break out in Ceylon they pass to the island of Manár. for the evil as well as the good of the whole is communicated to the parts. In this island we have four Fathers, each in charge of a portion of the Christians, and the Superior himself is not for that reason exempt from the work and its burdens. The Fathers vie with each other in the care of the Christians. They are engaged in procuring the spiritual good of their flock, nor, in temporal matters, do they fail to protect them from the Portuguese of the fortress, especially from the royal ministers, who like wolves seek to devour them. So much so that as one of them is now Captain, they determined not to take part in the fishery, preferring to deprive him of the gains which fall into his hands.

The fact is that the evils of this country do not come from the Christians, much less from the Fathers of the Society, but from

those whom His Majesty appoints for their protection. Instead of defending they injure them. But as they take refuge under the cloak of the King's service, and complain to the king, all the judges are on their side and none at all on the side of the poor Christians. They have written about this to the new Viceroy,²⁵⁰ who doubtless will give a remedy, as he is desirous of promoting the interests of both God and King. Up to now the interests of God have always had the last place, and it is for this reason that the affairs of India go on as they now do, and not as formerly, when the King gave orders that the service of God should always have the foremost place. There is no doubt that he gives the same orders still, but his ministers think more of pleasing the king, and put him above everything even though the service of God and the things of the Faith lose thereby, without minding that the object of the conquest of India is the extension of the Faith and not sovereignty and the acquirement of riches.

1643.

The Residences which the Society has in Manár.

[Simao de Figureido, 1 DECEMBER, 1643.]²⁵¹

In the island of Manár our Society has no College,²⁵² though a College is very necessary for the service of Our Lord the King, for the consolation of the Portuguese who live there and who ask for it earnestly. A College will be of great use for the service of God and for the conversion of the infidels living on the opposite continent in the kingdoms of Bisnaga, which is divided between the Náyakas of Madura and Tanjore, and others, among whom our Fathers go about, some dressed in the usual way, others in the costume of *Sannyasis*, that is to say, teachers of the Brahmins and the noble castes, others in the costume of Pandárams, which is worn by the teachers of all castes other than Brahmin;²⁵³ all these missionaries could be assisted by a College if we had one in Manár.

Though we have no College in the island, we have there five priests doing the work of parish priests of 8 or 10 churches. There they render great service to God. This year in particular they had great trouble to settle some differences that existed between the Portuguese of the fortress and the Christians of the country. The cupidity of the former disguises itself under the cloak of common good and the service of the king, and inflicts many tyrannies, wrongs and violence on the Christians. To remedy this evil and to keep the Christians, who on this account wished to leave the place, a Father went to Colombo to report the matter to the Captain-General, Don Philip Mascarenhas. He informed the General of what was taking place and begged him for some relief for the preservation of the

250. *Ann. Lit. Malabar*, folio 484.

251. Joam da Silva, Conde de Aveiras.

252. *Ann. Lit. Malabar*, fol. 513.

253. The word 'College' has a technical meaning. It does not mean an educational institution, but a 'Mission' with revenues enough to maintain a certain number of subjects.

254. This is in substance the "strange expedients" of the Jesuits, introduced by Fr. Robert Nobili. One of the stock charges against the Jesuits. Cf. *Ceylon Antiquary*, iii, p. 121 n. 169.

mission. When the Captain-General heard of the oppression which the poor Christians suffered, and the discredit which would fall on the name of our august king Don Joao IV. if the Christians ceased to be his subjects, at a time when the whole world was promising him vassalage, he passed several provisoes

in their favour, with which the Christians are quite content.

The other particulars regarding the ministry which Ours exercise in that island, were either not written, or did not reach us in time to be related here. They will be narrated on some other occasion.

1644.

The Island of Manar and the Residences which the Society has Therein.

[Andrew Lopez, 13 DECEMBER, 1644.]²⁵⁵

In this island the Society has five Residences in which five Fathers are stationed. One of them is Father of the Christians to protect the interests of the Christians in the courts and elsewhere. In the chief Residence, 11 persons were baptised. In another Residence, lately established, the Father is thinking of building a church in stone, which the Christians undertook to do with great fervour. In this Residence there was an old Moorish woman, whose daughter was a Christian. She never thought of following her daughter's example, but when death approached she sent for the Father and asked for Baptism, saying that she wished to be saved. She was so well instructed that the Father baptised her at once.

Two Christian women who had great difficulty in child-birth asked the Father for some relics of Saints. The Father sent them a relic of our Brother Alphonsus Rodriguez, which he had. One of these was delivered of her child as soon as they put the relic round her neck, and the other had the same good fortune when the relic reached the house.

In another Residence²⁵⁶ a pagan woman of high caste came to the church and, sending for the Father, asked for baptism as she already knew all the prayers, and the necessary truths which she had learnt from other Christian women. Surprised at her resolution, the Father questioned her closely and found that she was indeed well instructed. He baptised and sent her away, and the happy woman went away rejoicing. The church of this Residence was for a long time without tiles for want of wood which could only be found in forests full of elephants, tigers, bears, and thieves. The Christians, nevertheless, resolved to go a six days' journey into this forest. When they were there robbers attacked another party, plundering them of all they had. But the fervent

Christians escaped. Though they were within gun shot of the robbers, they were not seen by them. They attributed this to the favour of Our Lady on whose service they had gone.

Among these Christians was a *Canacopole* of the church, who went on this journey in spite of his wife's illness. Even when he was informed that she was getting worse, he did not think of abandoning the work undertaken for Our Lady. Returning with the rest he found his wife completely cured. Among them was also the teacher of the school, who left his wife nearly blind. When he returned he found her quite well. They attributed all these favours to Our Lady whom they were serving. As the patron of this church is Our Lady of Pity, she took pity on her devout Christians. And if Our Lady takes pity on her clients in matters temporal, she will do it much more in spiritual matters, as one may well think she did in the case of a woman of high caste, who, having for a long time given scandal to the whole country, now leads an exemplary life, frequenting the Church of Our Lady of Pity, confessing and communicating often, shedding many tears, not only during Holy Communion, but even out of it, taking the discipline and wearing a hair shirt, and persuading others to do the same.

In the Residence of St. Peter, the Christians gained the holy Jubilee with great devotion. Nearly all made their confession and 200 received First Communion. They communicate on all the Feasts of the year, and fast on Fridays and Saturdays, especially the women. The Church of this Residence was up to this time of mud, but the Christians determined to build it of stone. The Father is still engaged in collecting the materials necessary for the work, for it is not becoming that the house of the apostle who is a Stone²⁵⁷ should be of mud.

255. *Ann. Lit. Malabar*, fol. 524.

256. Residence of Carcel (Our Lady of Piedad).

257. The classic pun. (S. Pedro, *Pedra*).

1648.

Residences in the Island of Manar.

[Bakhasar de Costa, 28 Nov., 1648.]

This island was formerly well populated and had much trade, but today, on account of the famine and the ill-treatment of the royal ministers, the population has become very scarce. Many died of the effects of the former, and others fled to escape the insolence of the latter. There are in it 2,650 fit for confession, and 360 children in charge of the Fathers of the Society. To look after these Christians there are five Residences and in them as many Fathers, of whom the Superior resides in the chief town. Besides the usual labours, and the administration of the sacraments to those who are already Christians, more than a thousand adults, who during the recent famine sold themselves in this island, were baptised. The greater part of them died in a few days of small-pox, which is a plague in this country.

Of those who caught the infection, one had a remarkable good-fortune. He was a slave, a pagan, and as the disease was already far advanced, his master took him to a forest and, digging a grave, threw him into it to save himself the trouble of doing it after his death—a cruelty which he tried to excuse himself of under the pretext that he was only saving his family from the infection. The poor slave was in this miserable state, when at dead of night the Father had a fit of depression so strong that, to take some relief, he set out of the house accompanied by his servant, and went towards the sea-shore which was close by. At the same time a Christian happened by chance to pass by that place, and heard, in the silence of night, the pitiful groans of the poor slave in his grave in the forest. Attracted by the sound of a voice the man went up and, seeing the sad state of the miserable slave, he went to inform the Father of what he saw and to beg the Father to give the poor man a blessing. The Father at once set out to seek out the poor patient. The Christian and the servant asked him not to come near the place, for, besides that the disease was infectious, the slave had such a horrible appearance that it did not become

his Reverence to go there. The charity of the Father would not permit any delay, and so, without minding the fears and dangers which the Christian pointed out, but rather considering it a gain to lose his own life to save a soul for heaven, he went up to the sick man. When he saw the Father the poor slave received such comfort that, forgetting the pains that surrounded him, he took heart; and, thanking the Father for coming to his assistance at that hour, begged him for holy Baptism for which alone he waited, since they had buried him alive. The Father instructed him as well as the time permitted, and gave him Baptism to the great consolation of the poor slave, who, it seems, desired nothing else; for, as soon as the Father had finished baptism, he gave up his soul to his Creator, to the admiration of all present, and not less to the consolation of the Father who considered his fit of depression very fortunate since it brought about the salvation of that soul.

Not less wonderful is what another Father relates about another slave, also a pagan. One night thieves broke into the house of his master, and, not satisfied with robbing him of everything which they could lay hands on, they killed the master of the house, and dealt a blow on the slave's head with a knife, leaving it open and the slave for dead. The Father heard of it when it was broad day, and went there at once. He was touched with compassion at sight of that pitiful spectacle of two men dead, one without confession and the other without baptism. For a long time he remained looking at the two men, when, behold, the slave opened his eyes and made a sign with his head to the surprise of all present, who all thought that he was already dead. The Father approached, catechised him, made him make acts of Contrition, Faith, Hope and Charity, and gave him baptism. When this was done the slave expired, leaving the Father in admiration at the evident signs of his predestination. (Fol. 539.)

1654.

Manar.[J. Caldeiro, 15 DECEMBER, 1554.]¹

As the people of Manar were harassed by the royal ministers, they made up their minds to change their abode and leave the

island. Our Fathers, however, opposed it, adding reasons to their entreaties, and the good people, who are wont to be led by the gentle-

¹258. This is translated from a manuscript copy in the possession of the Very Rev L. Bease, S.J.

ness of the Fathers, finally gave in to their entreaties, in spite of their determination and hatred of the ministers. Thus the authority of the Fathers pacified the tumult.

The Dutch (Batavi) invaded the island to intercept the supplies that were being prepared there for the Portuguese of Colombo. As the place was without a garrison and could be easily taken, not a few of the people embarked in vessels, preferring to abandon their country than to risk the danger to the faith at the hands of the heretics. Others hid themselves in the thick woods and awaited the issue. In the midst of their troubles they were not unmindful of Ours, who were wandering about in the forests far from their churches, but supplied them with provisions. Some even risked their lives and property in order to save the sacred ornaments.

When the hostile incursion was over, and the Batavians had abandoned the siege of the fort, and had gone, the Fathers returned to their stations along with the people. There they not only found the enemy gone, and the

place quiet, but learnt of the misfortune of some who, thinking that the Batavians would be masters of the island, and wishing to get into their good graces, went over to them and were taken to New Batavia, the due reward of their disloyalty. It was observed, however, that none of these traitors belonged to our Residences.²⁵⁹

The faith and piety of the people is admirable and is shown in the frequent use of the sacraments, attendance at sermons, and other solemnities. Some adults were recently baptised, among them an octogenarian, who, at the end of a long life led among pagans, suddenly asked to be led to the church of the Christians. There he was instructed as well as the time permitted, was baptised and died a short time afterwards.

Two churches were recently commenced in stone.

At Carcel a Church of St. Francis Xavier was built.

(To be Continued.)

259. The rest of the sentence is unintelligible.



SOME SINHALESE CUSTOMS AND FOLKLORE.

OMENS AND PROGNOSTICATIONS.

By WILMOT P. WIJETUNGA.

FOR Journeys, Tuesday is considered the most favourable day in the week if it does not happen to be one astrologically unfavourable ; Thursday is also good.

The best possible omen one can have on setting out on a journey is if the first person met with carries a pot of water, milk, or white flowers. Those whose heads are shaven are very unlucky, e.g., Buddhist priests, McCormen. etc., the former in spite of the regard in which they are otherwise held.

The following are also inauspicious to be first met with :—

Those wearing their hair (*Kondē*) loose, it being a sign of mourning ; the blind or those suffering from great physical defects ; a woman carrying an empty pot or a smoke-blackened chatty.

It may be mentioned that for important journeys, the good 'omens' are usually carefully pre-arranged !

Of Visitors. If a crow makes a guttural sound in front of the house, visitors will shortly arrive.

Of Death. The weird cry of the devil-bird portends that death will visit the house over which it flew while making the cry.

Black Ants. Long lines of these infesting a house are believed to be an ill-omen. 'Bali' ceremonies are resorted to to drive them away and to counteract the future disasters which they indicate.

Lizards. The screech of a lizard when anything is about to be done should be obeyed as an unmistakable 'don't.' But to lizards'

cries towards dusk, much significance need not be attached.

The prolonged *baying of dogs*, the hooting of owls and 'cat's concerts' for several nights successively foreshadow an impending calamity over the whole neighbourhood generally.

The Easing of Crows on one's body is interpreted as follows :—If on the head, that happiness is in store for him ; on the shoulders or back—great prosperity : on knees or feet—approaching death.

If one's right nostril smarts, somebody, presumably a relation, is speaking well of him or her ; if it is the left nostril, it is very much the other way about.

Death. After death, the body is placed with the face turned towards the West (බස්නා ඉර දෙවියො දිනාව බලා). On the other hand, nobody sleeps in that position.

The dead should not be buried or cremated on a Tuesday, as such action is supposed to have a fatal effect on the surviving members of the family. Consequently these are postponed till Wednesday.

A strict vigil is kept in the death chamber lest evil spirits take permanent possession of the house. Nothing should be cooked in the house while the corpse is there, and it is the duty of near relations to bring cooked food to the bereaved.

Mourning. Mourning for a dead relative consists in abstaining from wearing gold jewellery ; from indulging in music (playing on a '*rabāna*' is specially against mourning) ; and

from observing the Sinhalese New Year and participating in the festivities associated therewith.

Wearing black is not a mode of showing grief among Sinhalese, although some of the educated classes have adopted it.

Frying in the house where mourning is supposed to prevail, is decidedly against the rules of mourning, as fried food is associated with occasions of mirth.

Smells. The unaccountable smell of burnt flesh or of other organic matter (පුඳු මඳ) indicates the presence of evil spirits not far away. The smell, under similar circumstances, of 'pittu' made from kurakkan means that the lesser evil spirits (දේවදායක) are abroad.

Cobras. The average Sinhalese seldom or never kills a cobra that might choose to make its home in his dwelling. As to the identity of such a cobra, three theories are advanced. It is believed to be either—

(a). The re-incarnation of a close relation who had been a former inmate of the same house, having been at death fired with the desire of again living there or of possessing it or of protecting the present residents from harm,

(b). Or the guardian of treasures buried under or near the house, or

(c). A dead enemy re-born in its present state with the intention of taking revenge.

Whatever of these beliefs they may entertain, the inmates are careful not to show even the semblance of offence to the unwelcome visitor, but try to placate it by laying plates of milk at the entrance of the hole where it lives. If they want it to leave the place, it is always respectfully addressed—as if it were a human being—as 'Nai-hami'—('my lord the cobra') and gently and apologetically requested to find another abode on such polite excuses as that the *little children* might get frightened by 'nai-hami's' presence. The

whiter a cobra is in colour, the greater the strength of the belief in its erstwhile human existence.

In view of this 'cult of the cobra,' an angry villager's not uncommon oath that he will come as a cobra in his next birth and eat his adversary is rather expressive.

Of animals, only these reptiles enjoy the honour of a previous existence in human shape being attributed to them. One consequence of these beliefs is that there prevails an almost universal dread of destroying them. Instead they are caught at the end of a stick with the aid of a noose, put into a sack and thrown into an unfrequented place, thus often being the cause of death of the inquisitive and unwary.

Cobras are supposed to guard Buddhist Temples, bo-trees, and hidden treasures, and innumerable stories are current in this respect. If a cobra is killed after it had bitten a person, the chances of the patient's recovery are said to be few.

Eating. The best position in taking meals is facing the East which brings good luck. Facing West is also good, but the other two points of the compass are to be avoided.

Bathing. Bathing on the different days of the week is said to have the following effects on the bather :—Bathing on Sunday—spoils the bather's appearance ; on Monday—improves it ; Tuesday—brings on disease ; Wednesday—brings riches ; Thursday—creates quarrels ; Friday—his children die ; Saturday—brings happiness—and deemed the most suitable day for bathing.

There is, however, a general absence of bathing on Tuesdays, and to a lesser extent, on Fridays.

'Pilgrim Language.' A special and quaint vocabulary is used by Buddhist pilgrims during pilgrimage. If questioned why they use these words, they will reply that they must not commit themselves by words—i.e., those displeasing to the gods—(“කට ඉස්සර

කරගන්ව කරකසි.") Those parts of the country where the sacred places are situated, are supposed to be under the particular protection of tutelary gods ('දෙසියන්ගේ රට') and many are the instances, they aver, when pilgrims had gone stark and staring mad owing to their ignorance or carelessness in using the wrong words.

As a general rule, nothing expressing want, vexation or annoyance should be uttered during a pilgrimage. Thus, if a pilgrim gets a thorn in his foot, the ordinary word for thorn, 'කටුළු,' should be toned down to the euphemistic 'පරඩළු' (piece of dry

plantain leaf). For 'කාන්ඩේ' (party) 'නිඳේ' is used. For කනවා (eat), the proper word is රැකෙනවා (subsist), the former being perhaps too gross as suggestive of an over-full stomach. For 'නැතැ' (No), the pilgrim equivalent is 'බේයි'.

For 'යනවා' (start. go) 'ඉස්සර බලනවා' (look forward)—the arrival of the pilgrims at their destination being implied not to be a certainty to be lightly assumed.

Some of these words are also used by cultivators while working on paddy-fields and chena lands, especially in Morowa Kōrale.



Notes & Queries.

HIPPOLYTE SILVAF.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

MY query as to this artist (*Ceylon Anti-quary*, Vol. III, p. 227) has been answered by Mr. Thomas Cooke, J.P., of Chilaw as a result of inquiries made by him from Silvaf's grand-daughter.

Philip Antoine Hippolyte Silvaf was born at Pondicherry on 8 January, 1801, married Wilhelmina Gertrude d'Haan of Batticaloa on 12 September, 1832, and died at Negombo on 8 April, 1879. He is buried in the Roman

Catholic cemetery there. The language he spoke at home was French. In addition to being an artist he gave lessons in painting, French and music, and tuned pianos. Mr. Cooke knew him very well at Colombo but lost sight of him early in the 'Seventies when the former left for Chilaw. Any biographical dictionary of Ceylon worthies should contain his name and that of J. L. K. Vandort. I hear one has recently appeared. Does it contain them?

SEX IN OFFSPRING.

THE PUMSAVANA CEREMONY.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

WITH reference to an interesting article on the above subject reproduced some time back by the "*Times of Ceylon*" from a Bombay contemporary, Mr. Jinarajadasa, a correspondent, declared that "there is no fact which, scientifically tested, proves that we can influence the sex of offspring by any outward environment we make, whether by food or climate or by exercise or no exercise." Mr. Jinarajadasa is probably quite correct, but Easterners have always held otherwise and the ancient *Pumsavana* ceremony, so largely observed today in all parts of India,

attests to this belief in the possibility of influencing sex in offspring.

The *Pumsavana* ceremony is intended to get a male child and is performed at the beginning of the third month after conception when it is supposed that the foetus takes shape. According to Mahamahopadhyaaya Hara Prasad Sashtri, M.A., C.I.E., who, in the Journal of the Bihar and Crissa Research Society for December, 1917, gives some interesting details of the ceremony peculiar to *Pumsavana*, a twig of a *Bar* tree with two figs is bought seven times with three balls

of powdered barley or beans, each act of buying being accompanied by the recital of *mantras*. The twig, which must be absolutely free from worms, is taken from the north-eastern branch of the tree. The price, that is, the 21 balls of barley and beans, is paid to the owner of the tree. Then with an appropriate *mantra* the twig is cut from the tree. It is covered with *Kusa* grass and brought home through the sky and kept in the sky, that is, it is not allowed to touch the ground. A sacred fire is kindled, and towards the north of the fire a flat grinding-stone is placed and washed very carefully. The pestle should be spherical and the *Bar* fig with two figs is crushed by either a Brahmachârini, or a young unmarried girl, or by a pregnant woman, or by a learned Brahman. The water used is preferably dew water. Then the husband makes his pregnant wife stand on *kusas* towards the west of the fire with her head bending towards the east, himself standing behind her. He takes the pasted twig into a piece of cloth and presses it by the thumb and the fourth finger of the right hand. He presses the cloth and puts the juice into the right nostril of his wife, reciting a *mantra*, the purport of which is to get a male child.

But there is a shorter process in which the twig is dispensed with. The husband standing behind the wife throws his right arm on her shoulders, and with the palm of his hand touches her bare navel, reciting an appropriate *mantra*, and there the ceremony ends.

Females giving birth to female children only, often take many vows to get male children. One of them is eating the mud from the bottom of a *Bar* or a *Pipal* tree sacred to the god Kshetrapala who is worshipped by the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. His peculiar function is to protect the field sacred to any deity, Buddhist or Hindu. He is regarded as an incarnation of Lokeshvara by the Buddhists and of Siva by the Hindus. If

Kshetrapala, being propitiated, grants the boon of a male child, he is to be worshipped with some *eclat*. The worship of the god Kartika, the son of Durga, for four years on the last day of the month of *Kartika*, is often supposed to bring about the birth of a male child, and many a pilgrimage to the local Kataragama is undertaken for this purpose.

The common idea is that, if the female element prevails at the time of impregnation, a female child is born; but if the male element prevails, it leads to the birth of a male child; and if none prevailed, a hermaphrodite is born.

What has been said above represents a description of the *Pumsavana* ceremony for those who follow the Samaveda. The following, also from Mr. Sastri, is a description of the same ceremony of the Rig-Vedi Brahmanas. Curd, barley and beans and *Darbha* grass are first collected and conserved. The curd is prepared preferably from the milk of a cow which has a calf of her own colour. This curd is placed in the curved right palm of the woman in pregnancy, and in the curd are thrown two circular grains of *masa* and one grain of barley, the thing forming, in the imagination, a complete male organ. She drinks off the whole palmful of the curd with the grains, three times. The husband asks her: "What are you drinking?" and she says "I am drinking *Pumsavana*." This is the essence of the Rig-Vedi *Pumsavana*.

The *Pumsavana* ceremony for Yajurveda is of a much simpler form. It consists simply in pressing out into the right nostril of the pregnant wife, the juice of the twig and tendril of the *Vata* tree, or preferably some creepers, if procurable, and the pointed stalk of *kusa*, compounded together with stale water with appropriate *mantras* in the evening. The sacred fire need not be kindled.

For further references and "directions" in this connection I would refer the curious reader to *The Ordinances of Mann*, III. 48, 49. 262, 263, etc.

RUINS AT USSAIPPUKALLU.¹

By B. G. DE GLANVILLE, C.C.S.

WE finished our work on the 16th morning and in the afternoon visited the interesting ruins at Ussaippukallu, about 3 miles south of the anicut. I have been unable to discover anything of the history of these ruins, and I believe little or nothing is known of them.

They are evidently the remains of what was once a fair-sized settlement—and I wished that we had had time available to investigate them. They are situated on a rocky ridge which stretches further south—to what distance I do not know. A gradual but considerable climb is needed to reach them, and from the top of one of the huge rocks, which was originally crowned with a small brick-work Dágoba, an impressive view is obtained of a

sea of green jungle stretching away for miles in every direction. The jungle in the neighbourhood is strewn with enormous massive boulders which stand out far above the tops of the trees.

One of the rocks has on it a five line inscription which Mr. Parker dates in the 2nd century A.D. In the midst of the ruins is a deep natural *pokuna*, and below is a tank of very considerable size. Even our hasty look round revealed numerous pillars, guard-stones and other stone work, and I have little doubt that a search of the hollows between the rock masses, now overgrown with jungle, would reveal much of interest in the way of stone work fallen down from the rocks on which the various buildings once stood.

OLD DUTCH CUSTOM AT BATTICALOA.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

IN further illustration of Mr. Tuttein-Nolthenius' note (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 138), the following may be quoted from an article by the late Mr. Louis Nell in the *Orientalist*, (Vol. III, p. 166), entitled "The Archæology of Ceylon Eurasian Gastronomy," which (the article as well as the cookery) is not so well-known as it deserves to be :—

"The Dutch cookery of Ceylon included *Sop*, which was a soup or rather broth. *Doopvisch* or boiled fish, served with a *Doopsaus* or egg sauce, the *Smoor*, or stewed beef, adapted in Ceylon to Indian condiments. The *Frikkadel* or balls of minced beef with spice fried in butter, in Europe probably appearing in the form of 'veal balls.' This, which by the sound of the name with native cooks, *Fricka-*

dela, some would imagine to have had a Portuguese origin, was a true Dutch dish.

Then for dessert or tea there was the large cake, the *Poffert* or *Broeder*, erroneously called 'sponge cake' by some who affect to give it an English name. The *Broeder* often appeared like a hen with her chickens, when in company with the little *Poffertijes*, small round baked puddings, baked with butter in a pan with semi-spherical hollows.

The *Wafel* is a cake or wafer baked in a pair of oblong lids folding together by moving on a common pivot and moulding the cake enclosed within these limbs. *Eey suikerde wafel* is a sugared wafer of this kind, the Ceylon adaptation being the oblong *wafel* itself, moulded in hollow square compartments and served with a sugar syrup with which small dice of the cashew nut have been mixed,

1. [Extract from the Diary of the Assistant Government Agent, Mannar, for the month of August, 1919.—Ed. C.A.]

in lieu perhaps of bits or dice of almonds, which probably was the original idea in garnishing the syrup. . . . The late Mr. Lorenz. . . used to mention the delightful manner in which Ceylon associations were called up by the appearance at table in Holland of the familiar *Broeder*. This any Sinhalese baker of good custom will, to this day, make or attempt to make to order. The *Pannekook* is also a Dutch institution and is good Dutch for the English pancake. The local peculiarity was the use of the water of the young king-coconut which gives a very delicately bitter and agreeable flavour to the pancake. It is eaten with sugar spread over it and the cake then rolled up diameter-wise; when cold the sugar has already melted, but you are left in an agreeable doubt whether you would like to eat it hot or cold, it is so nice either way.

Peper-kock was originally ginger-bread.

Pepar-bal was another form of this item of spicy baker. So one kind of bread from its shape was the *Rond-brood*, another, not from its colour, the *Rogge-brood*, originally, no doubt rye-bread, such as was found in the knapsacks of dead Russians during the Crimean War, and locally applied to a brown bread made from the coarser parts of the wheat.

The *Koekiss*, sometimes cried in the

streets, can be traced to the Dutch *Koekjes*, little cakes. One kind, *Ijzer Koekis*, 'iron cakes,' are so-called from being prepared like the *baffel* from two folding iron moulds closing upon the paste. These last when done look like brown scrolls. They are made to this day in Galle, and till lately were cried in the streets of the Pettah of Colombo, many modern school boys associating the street cry and the supposed invention of these scrolls with a worthy citizen of the name of Heyzser who lived in a then quiet corner of the Pettah."

This paper was written so long ago as 1875. It would be interesting to learn from some of the correspondents of the *Ceylon Antiquary* :—

(1) whether all these cakes and dishes are still in use :

(2) whether the *Koekiss* is still "cried in the streets ;"

(3) whether *Ijzer Koekis* are "made to this day in Galle."

Broeder cakes are still to the fore, or were when I left Ceylon, and could be bought even without previous ordering in such places as Jaffna, Matara and Negombo.

A NOTE ON "ADUKKU."

By T. B. P. KEHELPAÑNALA.

WITH reference to the note on "*Adukku*,"¹ under the heading "An attempt to steal a well," I wish to point out that the term "*Adukku*," so far as my observations extend, is a word peculiar to the dialect of the Kandyan, and not to the Low-country Sinhalese, whose corresponding term for the expression is *Bät* (බත්).

This is amply illustrated by the following

stanza² written by the late eminent scholar, Hon. James de Alwis (Advocate), in his invitation to *Bät* to the late Obeysekera Mudaliyar, and is supported by another stanza³ by the late Livera Mudaliyar to the Hon. Mr. de Alwis. It is, therefore, clear that the word "*Bät*" is used for dressed rice by all classes of the Low-country Sinhalese, without distinction of caste or class.

1. Vol. iii: Part III, January, 1918, p. 228

2. By Hon. J. D. Alwis, to Obeysekera Mudaliyar.

දී න මි න	පිරිසු දන කැත් සරි කෙසරිසු	ම
දී බණ න	සුභ ලබාසේකර මුදලිසු	ම
අ ද දී න	සවස් මේලේ ගහගමාර	ම
අ ද රි න	සදිම් කුලුණෙන් එකලෙස බන	ම

3. By Livera Mudaliyar to Hon. J. de Alwis, M.L.C.

මා සි ත්	කෙ-ද නදර කරවන පති නා	ර
සේ ස ත්	ගුනෙන් සුත් මැරුණත් සුළු සා	ර
පා ප ත්	හිරි අවරහිර පැණුණු වා	ර
බෝ මෙ ත්	කර බනට මම දිම් තර සා	ර

But it is different with the Kandyan. The word *Aḍukku* is used as a term of respect for *cooked provisions provided for the Kandyan aristocracy only*. It is only used as a *noun*, and as such it is meant exclusively to express *food ready dressed for the table of Kandyans of rank and quality only*.

The Rev. Father Gnana Prakasar says that the word "*Aḍukku*" occurs in Tamil as a *verb*, and it means, "to pile one upon another." As I have said before, the *noun* "*Aḍukku*" is never used in Kandyan conversation in this sense, but the verb "*Aḍukku-Karanawa*" (අඩුකු කරනවා), is used both by the Kandyans and the Low-country Sinhalese to signify, "to pile up, to heap or to store."⁴

In the Glossary of Native, Foreign and Anglicized words published by Government in 1904,⁵ the term "*Aḍukku*" is described as a Sinhalese word, and is translated as "a set of trays or dishes in which are carried dressed provisions supplied to chiefs or superior officers of Government." This rendering is incorrect and needs rectification. "*Aḍukku*" is the *cooked food* and *not* the receptacles in which food is dressed or carried, and such *food* offered to Kandyan Chiefs and their families only, at home or abroad, is comprehended by the respectful term "*Aḍukku*," while *food* partaken of by the rest of the Kandyans is known by the general term "*Bāt*." Sir A. C. Lawrie's valuable *Gazetteer* has many references to the term "*Aḍukku*."⁶

In their Vocabulary, the Kandyans have also the word *Aḍukku-peṭṭiya* for the con-

veyance of dressed food by Gogama Kandyans to the Chiefs, as a mark of respect.⁷ The term *Bāt-peṭṭiya*, literally "a basket of cooked rice," is substituted in the case of all ordinary Kandyans.⁸ The term *Aḍukku-Walankada* also occurs in the colloquial language of the Kandyans. It is a pingo consisting of a complete assortment of pottery, in which provisions are cooked for Kandyans of rank.

In the Glossary of terms appearing in the Service Tenures Register, 1872, the term "*Aḍukku*" is described as "cooked provisions given to headmen or persons of rank," and "*Aḍukku-Walankada*" as "a pingo of earthenware vessels for cooking or carrying food for headmen, &c." Curiously enough, in both these definitions, prominence is given to headmen. "*Aḍukku*," it should be understood, is served only to Chief Headmen or persons of rank of the Kandyan community only, and *not* to persons of any other class of Sinhalese or different nationality, whatever their status may be.

Though no language is free from an admixture with foreign elements, yet I do not agree with the Rev. Father Gnana Prakasar that "*Aḍukku*" is a Tamil word adopted by the Sinhalese.⁹

The term "*Aḍukku Chaddy*" is not known to the Kandyans as Rev. Gnana Prakasar says it is in use with the Tamils.¹⁰

What Kandyans are used to is a "*Penun-kada*" a presentation pingo, as a "*Baṇḍē-siya*" (a tray in which presents in kind are taken) is to a Low-country Sinhalese.

4. Clough interprets "අඩුකු කරනවා" (*Aḍukku-Karanawa*) as, "to pile up, to heap, to gather," p. 17, and "අඩුකු" (*Aḍukku*) as "a heap, a pile; an assortment of provisions ready dressed."

5. By a Committee appointed by Sir West Ridgeway, consisting of the Hon. H. H. Cameron, Hon. P. Ramanathan, K.C., C.M.G.; Hon. S. N. W. Hulugalle; Simon de Silva, Mudaliyar, and R. C. Kulasapillai, Mudaliyar.

6. In enumerating the services of Gogama Kandyan tenant, of Dēvalas, &c., Sir A. C. Lawrie says that the tenant "should give *Aḍukku* to the Bīṣṇāyeka Nāme when he comes to the village and appear before him at each festival with sweetmeats and betel." *Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 28.

7. Established custom forbids low-caste Kandyans from presenting *cooked food* to Gogama Kandyans or to the Walauwas. They can present only "Pehidun" raw food-stuff.

8. The cooked food is carried in special rattan boxes of Kandyan manufacture, called "Kuruni-peṭṭi," another word peculiar to the Kandyan dialect.

9. Dr. Winslow in his Tamil-English Dictionary defines அடுக்கு *Aḍukku* as "a pile, row, tier; regular arrangement of goods or things, &c."

10. "*Aḍukku-Maduwa*," is another word in Kandyan phraseology. It is a ceremony performed to appease the god—Dēvata-Bāṇḍara Devīyo or Eṇṇēkke, to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. The food offered to the "Devīyo" (god) is also called "*Aḍukku*," and "*Aḍukku-Madu*" seem to exist from ancient times, which conclusively proves that it is a word used by the Kandyan Sinhalese, without adopting it from the Tamil.

Literary Register.

THE COLOMBO RACES OF 1854.

(Illustrated by the Late J. L. K. Vandort.)

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE late J. L. K. Vandort is, without doubt, the cleverest 'artist' that the Island has produced. He was a genuine product of the soil and of one of its most distinctive communities, that of the Dutch descendants or Burghers. He was born and bred at Colombo, educated in its Academy and employed in one of its public offices, that of the Surveyor General. He never, so far as I know, had an opportunity of getting away from the country of his birth nor, which is a subject of regret, of attending any school of art or of seeing or studying any of the classic examples of art. Had he had such opportunities he might have made a name for himself known beyond its boundaries and have conferred distinction on his community and his country.

For sketching in pen and ink in particular he had a passion as well as a genius. It was this probably that led to his being employed at the Surveyor-General's Office as a draughtsman. He was there in the early 'Fifties, and I have in my possession five letters written by him to friends at Kandy, all illustrated by sketches from his hand. The two earliest are dated May, 1851, and take the pseudo form of numbers of "*The Ceylon Charivari*, the only edition in existence." The first letter is "No. I, Vol. I." The

other three are of 1854. Of the latter the first describes itself as "*Brick's Life in Colombo or the Small Pass Charivari* dedicated to the Bricks of Kandy by their President, Peter Jefferson Brick of Colombo, No. I, Vol. I, 28 Sept., 1854." In his letter dated 27 August, 1854, he had explained the origin and object of this journal. He proposed, instead of writing letters giving them all the news to his Kandy friends, to send them "a kind of illustrated newspaper of Colombo News in a sheet of letter-paper regularly at the close of every month by post," and "six fellows were to subscribe a penny a piece for every monthly number," the numbers to be circulated and then preserved by one of them to be made up into a volume. The postage would probably be sixpence each time, and the penny subscription was to defray the cost of postage. He promised to "take great pains to finish up the illustrations first rate in pen and ink." [As to the name, it may be noted that 'Martin Chuzzlewit' and Mr. Jefferson Brick had appeared within the last decade and were, no doubt, popular at the Colombo libraries.]

The first number was to be sent to Kandy by the end of September, which was the month of the Colombo Races, and gave the artist a good opportunity for a beginning. "I

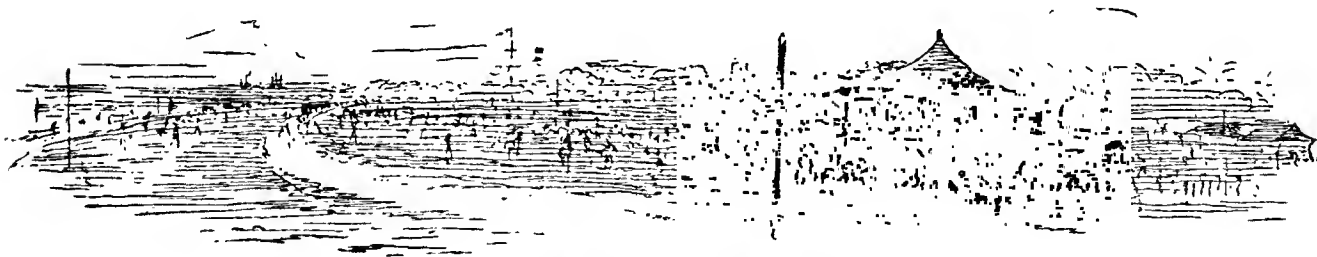
intend," he says in the same letter "to station myself at the South Gate (as the Laboratory Bridge is broken down and under repair), and I shall sketch everything out on the road from that place and from the course, everybody being now obliged to pass thro' the Fort to go to the Course, except foot passengers." He was, I regret to say, prepared to resort to a well-known subterfuge in order to attain this object. He intended, so he says, to tell Mr. Simms,¹ on the first day of the Races "that a sudden indisposition prevents my attendance at the office on that day." But this seems to have been unnecessary as the office shut at 3 o'clock on race days to enable the staff to attend the Races.

Here then we have the first number, and it is almost entirely devoted to the "Colombo Race Meeting" of 1854. This was held on five days, Saturday, September 2nd, the "Derby Day," Monday the 4th, Wednesday the 6th, the "Cup Day," and the 8th and 9th. The races began each day at 4 p.m. and the artist notes that the attendance was "less this year than before." As now,² we were in the

sent Armageddon. The Race Dinner had taken place on September 1st at the "Race Bungalow," a name which among horse-keepers and coolies the Colombo Club building which succeeded the original structure still persistently retains, as they will none of any other. The Race Ball was on the 7th, Settling Day on the 11th and the Annual Meeting of the Turf Club on the 20th day of the Alma,—when two officers, both of them probably well-known on the Colombo Race-course, Captain George James Dowdall of the 95th Regiment and Lieutenant William Braybrooke of the Ceylon Rifles and the 95th,³ fell in action. On the 11th and the 20th some private matches were run "till dark, even so late as $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 or 7."

Gentlemen riders were required "for all races except the Pony and Hack Races on Friday and Saturday (8th and 9th)."

The pseudo-newspaper is headed by a view of "The Colpetty Race Course," otherwise the Galle Face. That long-established resort of athletic and more particularly equestrian Colombo whose glories in this respect



The Colpetty Race-course.

thick of a war, but the Crimean War can have had little effect on Ceylon and its garrison, civil and military, as compared with our pre- for the most part departed with the dying century, with its Race Bungalow, its crowds of spectators, indigenous and foreign, and its

1. Mr. W. H. Simms was Surveyor-General, 1846-54, but owing to some friction with Government resulting from his bringing some charges against Mr. William Ferguson which he failed to substantiate, he had to retire without pension on 1st December of this year. Curiously enough he was succeeded by an officer of very nearly the same name, Captain Charles Sim, R.E., who was appointed to act as Surveyor-General on that date, and was confirmed as such on 2nd Dec. 1855. The similarity of the name reminds one of Bishop Phillips of Exeter who used to speak of Bishop Philpot of Worcester as "my singular brother."

2. [This article was written by Mr. Lewis during the progress of the great European War.—Ed. *Ceylon Antiquary*.]

3. The 95th (Derbyshire) Regiment had a long period of service in Ceylon, viz. from 1839 to 1847 and Captain Dowdall was probably with it most of the time. He was a brother of John Byng Withers Dowdall, the "O'Brien" of the *Autobio, graphy of a Ceylon Duroi*, and the author William Boyd describes him as "as warm-hearted a man and as true a friend as ever lived in Ceylon." (p. 224). Their father was Major Dowdall of the 31st Regiment, and their step-father Captain Feneran Paymaster of the 58th, who at one time was quartered in Ceylon and had served through the whole of the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns. J. B. W. Dowdall died on the voyage home on the Scindia, 5th April, 1852.

back-ground of sea, lake, fort, and coco-nut trees, looks much the same as it did every autumn for the next half-century during 'Race Week.' There is also "The Road to



The Road to the Races— $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 p.m.

the Races, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock." The bandies, the palanquin carriages, the hackeries, the equestrians and pedestrians of sorts, are all there and we miss only the motor-cars, the bicycles and the rickshaws—we do not really miss the cars, for when the Colombo Race Meet was last held on the Galle Face, there were none in the Island. The life and movement in this sketch are noticeable.

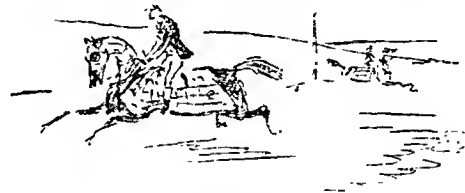
The account begins with a copy of the "Handbill of the Races," and even of the



Handbill Picture.

picture which headed it—probably a roughly executed woodcut such as we see adorning the advertisements in provincial newspapers—a galloping horse or a steamship or a sort of doll's house indicating that the accompanying letter-press refers to horse-races, steamer lines or houses for sale or lease. The copy has given this woodcut of two race-horses a distinction and a permanence which it would never else have attained, for doubtless there is not now to be found anywhere a single original copy of this handbill.

This is followed by a spirited little sketch



Training.

entitled "Training," and we note that the riders on this preliminary occasion and later that all the officials of the Meet wore tall hats. There is a most effective sketch of the "Clerk



The Clerk of the Course—Mr. J. Fraser.

of the Course, Mr. J. Fraser" riding down it, cracking his whip, with another official doing the same in the back-ground. This is probably the only drawing of Mr. Fraser, who belonged to the Civil Service, and was at this time acting Principal Assistant Colo-

nial Secretary, ⁴ in existence, and it gives us some idea of his general appearance. It is remarkable with how few lines of the pen the life-like effect of these two sketches is produced.

The officials we learn from our amateur newspaper were Stewards.—Colonel Milman, ⁵ 37th Regiment, Captain Romer, ⁶ 59th, Major

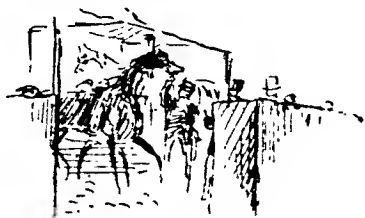
Cole, ⁷ 15th, Captain Clement, ⁸ Ceylon Rifle Regiment; J. Cuffe, Esq. ⁹; A. W. Heale, Esq. ¹⁰

Clerk of the Course.—J. Fraser, Esq.

Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.—

G. Vane, Esq. ¹¹

There are slight but effective sketches of "The Stables," of "Weighing" and of "Refreshment Booths" for the native spectators.



The Stables.



Weighing.



Refreshment Booths.

In such details half a century makes no changes and they would serve for illustrations of the Races of today or tomorrow.

There is also depicted the ever recurrent incident which appears inevitable at a Race meet—"the little dog running across the race-



The Dog on the Race-course.

4. He was appointed to the offices of "Keeper of the Government Records, 1st November, 1847, Secretary to the School Commission, 1st May, 1848; and Second Assistant Colonial Secretary, 1st August, 1852; to both these last named offices combined, 25th Sept. 1853; and to that of Acting Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary, 18th January, 1853. A correspondent of the *Ceylon Times* of 24th January, 1851, wants to know "what is the exact position of Mr. John Fraser of Godapolla in the Civil Service" also whether "the office of Record Keeper was created for him." He states that he was a protégé of Sir James Emerson Tennent. From the description of him as "of Godapolla," it seems likely that he was originally a planter or had combined planting and public service until such combination was interdicted. He died on 8th October, 1855, and is buried in the Galle Face Cemetery. Godapolla was an estate in Matale South, which belonged to Mr. Fraser up to 1850. He had three horses at this meeting.

5. Colonel Milman married a daughter of the then Bishop of Colombo, Dr. Chapman, whose cathedral church at Mutwal was nearing completion at this time and was consecrated on the 28th of this month. (We are given a sketch of it at the end of this letter.)

6. Captain W. Romer was Private Secretary to the Governor. He married Miss Frances Clarissa Symons at Kandy on 22nd February, 1853. Possibly she was a sister of the Rev. W. H. Symons, had been Chaplain there and at Pussellawa and Gampola. If so, her name should be spelt as last given, but Ceylon Almanacs were inaccurate as to spelling proper names in those days. A sister of the Chaplain did, however, marry the Rev. J. Brooke Bailey, father of Mr. Allanson Bailey C.C.S.

7. Major J. A. Cole had been employed in the Department of the Commissioner of Roads. The 15th (York East Riding Regiment) to which the Major belonged was just leaving the Island, and in consequence he had had to give up this appointment. In one of these letters of Vandort there is a sketch of a silver inkstand and its morocco case with the inscription on a silver plate between the two bottles:—"Presented to Mr. Henry Misso, Head clerk of the Civil Engineer and Commissioner of Roads Office by Major J. F. Cole, 15th L. Inf., on his departure from the Island." This inkstand is probably still in existence as an heirloom of the Misso family. Vandort has, I think, made a mistake as to the letters flowing 15th in his copy of the inscription on the inkstand. The 15th York-shire, East Riding Regiment was never Light Infantry. Young Vandort says: "Major Cole is off to the Wars with Skinner, Major Layard and Lieut. Evatt having succeeded these two funny fellows in that horrid office." The other officers named were apparently Major Thomas Skinner, Major William Twisleton Layard of the Ceylon Rifles and Lieut. H. A. Evatt who had sold out of the Army in 1851 and joined the Roads Department, a relative of Sir Alexander Ashmore. This information seems to have been incorrect. Major Skinner, who had been Commissioner of Roads since 1838, did not go "to the Wars" but home on leave in August, 1854; returned to Ceylon in 1856; acted as Treasurer, and in 1860 resumed the road-making that gave him his chief fame.

8. Captain Charles Theophilus Clement of the Ceylon Rifles, whose father had commanded the Royal Artillery in Ceylon, was a brother-in-law of Chief Justice Carr, whom we shall find delineated by Vandort later. The Captain died at Carrick-on-Shannon in 1859.

9. Mr. J. Cuffe was Registrar of the Supreme Court.

10. Arthur Wellington Heale of the firm of A. W. Heale and Co. Colombo, besides being known on the turf, was a cricketer and bowler and played in a match at Colombo in October 1849, *Civilians vs. Military*—Messrs. Louis Liesching and John Bailey of the Civil Service also played for the *Civilians*, as did the celebrated Laurence Oliphant.

11. Mr. George Vane, C.C.S., who retired as Treasurer of the Colony in 1882, will still be remembered by residents. He was at this time Deputy Collector of Customs.

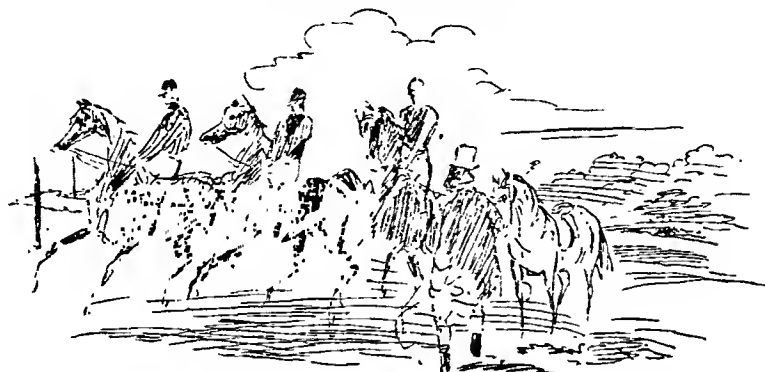
course one minute before the start." Here he is "chased by three policemen" and two mounted stewards, all fixed with a few strokes of the pen—one can almost count them—and yet most life-like.

The first event was "the Colombo Derby of 50 Sovereigns added to a Sweepstake of 10 Sovs. each over a course of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile;" and the entries were:—

Mr. Maude's (Green's) ch. e. f. Gazelle, 4 years, owner, ¹² blue and white stripes	...	1
Mr. A. C. White's ³ b. c. h. O. K., 5 years (Capt. Alwin), ¹⁴ black jacket, crimson sleeves and cap...	...	2
Captain Sewell's ¹⁵ (15th Reg.) b. n. s. w. m. Datura, aged—, owner, blue jacket, white sleeves and cap	...	3

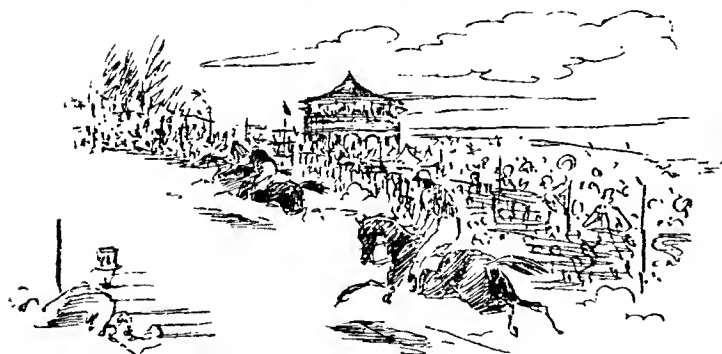
We have pictured for us "The Start," "The Coming In" and a portrait of Gazelle.

The Start for the Derby.

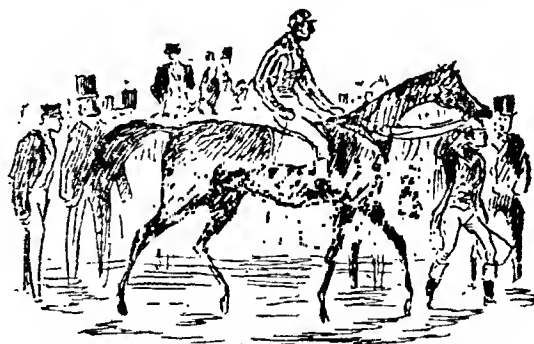


Gazelle O.K. Datura.

The Coming In.



Gazelle O.K. Datura.



Gazelle, the Winner of the Derby, led in by Mr. Green.

the winner,¹⁶ being led in by her owner, Mr. Green, with Captain Baker in his blue and top boots are priceless. So too in the first

12. There is a note that the rider was "Capt. Baker, C.R.K." The only officer of this name in Ceylon in 1854 was Lieut. W. Baker of the 37th Regiment, and his name in my copy of the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1855, which belonged to Mr. P. W. Braybrooke, is crossed out, so that he appears to have obtained a company in the Ceylon Rifles. Mr. Green may have been J. P. Green of the well-known Colombo firm called by his name.

13. Mr. A. C. White was the owner of an estate called Doragalla in the Pussellawa District, but he does not seem to have been resident on it.

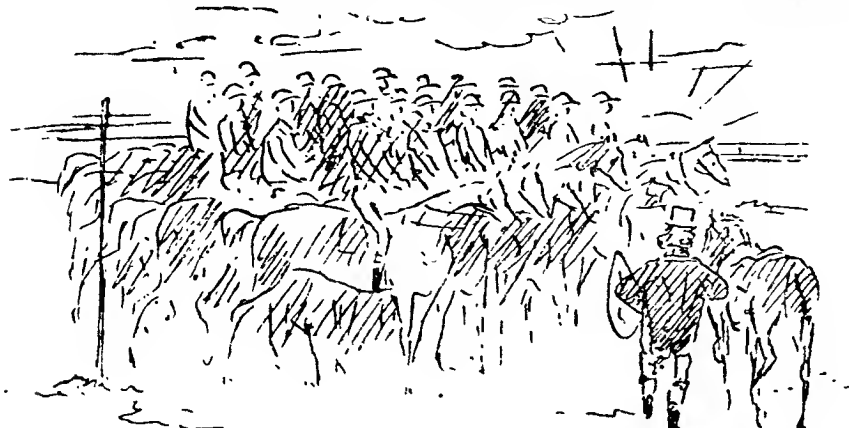
14. There is no "Captain Alwin" to be found among the military officers in Ceylon in 1854, nor does this name occur in the Directory of European Residents contained in the *Ceylon Almanac* of that year or of 1855, but in the Directory of both years there is a "P. Alvin" of Messrs. A. W. Heale & Co., and he was probably the rider, for the distinction between "w" and "v" is not always apparent to the Ceylon-born.

15. Captain Algernon Robinson Sewell, 15th Regt., son of the late Chief Justice of Lower Canada, married Henrietta Carolina, youngest daughter of J. J. Staples, District Judge of Kandy, on 14th March, 1850, at Kandy. He died a General some years ago, and his widow is living in London. The family of Staples is still represented in Ceylon.

16. Gazelle, besides winning the Derby against O.K. and Datura, beat O.K. again the same day for the Ladies' Purse and had a walk over for the Governor's Cup on Wednesday against O.K. and on Saturday the fifth day of the Races, won the Grand Lottery against Collier and Diphthong. But as we shall see she was foolish enough to telt in the second race on the opening day, and in the race for the Ladies' Purse on Wednesday had to be withdrawn. O.K. we learn from the *Times* had been "freely backed at 3 to 1 against the field until the day of the race for the Derby," but though beaten by Gazelle, scored a second time against Datura at the Consolation Handicap on Friday, that mare having to scratch. Datura was beaten too for the Garrison Stakes by Diphthong and Nil Deeperandum.

sketch is the back of the starter. A few touches of the pen indicate the back of his head and his bushy Mahratta whiskers, and bring before us as by magic his personality

out of the mid-nineteenth century. We see him again, back and whiskers and white tall hat in all their glory, in another sketch "in outline," at the end of the letter, of "The Start for the Hack Race" which came off,



The Start for the Hack Stakes.

some days later, just as the sun (we see it in the sketch) was half sunk below the horizon of sea off the Galle Face.

The second race was "The Western Province Stakes," over a course of one mile, run in heats. The horses entered were two only :—

Mr. A. C. White's b. c. a. h. Diphthong, aged—	
(Capt. Alwin), black jacket, crimson	
sleeves and cap ...	1
Mr. Maule's (Green) ch. e. f. Gazelle (Capt. Baker),	
blue and white stripes ...	2

We learn that "Gazelle bolted and had to scratch" and we have to be content with a small sketch of Diphthong coming in *solus*,



Diphthong.

his exultant rider, Captain Alwin, waving his whip and crimson cap in the same hand.

The third race, "The Galle Face Stakes, of 3 sovs. each and 10 added" was "in half

mile heats and no walk over was to be allowed." There were three horses :—

Captain Bews' ¹⁷ (C. R. R.) b. n. s. w. g. Harlequin,	
Captain Sewell, blue jacket, white sleeves	
and cap ...	1 . . 1
Mr. Christopher's ¹⁸ g. a. h. Vanguard, black body,	
white sleeves and cap ...	3 . . 0
Capt. Williams' ¹⁹ b. a. h. Lall Sing, blue jacket,	
blue and white cap ...	2 . . 2

But despite the condition of no walk over it was practically one for Harlequin. The *Ceylon Times* describes this event as "a wretched hollow affair, 2nd heat not contested and Harlequin w. o." Vanguard did not run

The Galle Face Stakes—1st Heat.



Harlequin. Lall Sing. Vanguard.

in the second heat. Vandort, however, gives us an animated impression of the first heat showing the order in which they came in, Harlequin first and Vanguard last.²⁰

This ended the first day's races.

(To be continued.)

¹⁷ Captain H. Bews was acting Assistant Military Secretary. He was a son of Paymaster Bews of the 73rd Regiment and joined the Ceylon Rifles in 1842.

¹⁸ Mr. Christopher had been in the Indian Navy and bought land in the Central Province for coffee planting. He was father of Mr. H. O. Christopher who retired from the Public Works Department in 1877 who again was an uncle or cousin of Captain A. C. Christopher, A.D.C. to Governor Sir Arthur Gordon, 1884-1890.

¹⁹ I can find no "Captain Williams" among the military officers of the day. It must have been a Turf name.

²⁰ Vanguard was beaten too, for on Wednesday for the Welter Race by Nil Desperandum, Lall Sing did nothing at this meet beyond coming in second for the Galle Face Stakes. He was third in the first heat at the Handicap for all horses on Wednesday, but did not run in the second heat.

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Part III.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE RODIYÁS OF CEYLON.

By WILHELM GEIGER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY C. H. COLLINS, B.A., C.C.S.

Foreword.

THE problem of the Rodiyás of Ceylon is one of the many fascinating questions which Ceylon offers to those who are interested in matters ethnological, philological or sociological. Who are the Rodiyás? Whence came they? Do they speak a distinct language, or a debased Sinhalese with strange words deliberately introduced to render their speech unintelligible to the rest of the Community, in order to conceal nefarious practices and confound their enemies? Are they a distinct race? If not, how did they come to be outcasts? And why do they adhere so rigidly to their ancient customs, and show so little anxiety to rise in the social scale? All these questions have been put forward many times, and answers

have been proposed, but I do not think it can be said that the problem of the Rodiyás has yet been solved.

The present work is a contribution to the subject from the philological point of view. The author of the paper, Wilhelm Geiger, needs no introduction to Ceylon Readers. He is well-known as the translator of the *Mahāwamsa*, and as an Orientalist of renown. He was in Ceylon during the Winter of 1895/1896, and it was during this period that he made a study of the Rodiyá dialect. The work that he did during these few months was prodigious, for besides the Rodiyá, which after all formed but a small part of his labours, he studied Sinhalese and Máldivian. He found time to visit various parts of the Island,

and he studied Roḍiyá at first hand at Ratnapura and Kurunegala, besides having a Roḍiyá man in his house in Colombo for two whole days, one of which was Christmas Eve !

Geiger's work on the Roḍiyá language is perhaps the best we possess so far, but it is a pity that the essays on the subject by Hugh Nevill, of the Ceylon Civil Service, published in the *Taprobanian* (Vol. II, Part III, pages 81-96, and Vol. II, Part IV, pages 108 to 121) were not brought to his notice. I do not think that Geiger's work is the last word on the subject. There is a great deal more to be done yet. I hope that somebody who has time and leisure will carry the matter further, and make a complete vocabulary of the Roḍiyá dialect. The vocabularies we have at present are Casie Chitty's and Mendis Gunasekera Mudaliyár's, and the vocabularies published in the *Ceylon Literary Register* (*Monthly*) N. S. III, Nos. 11 and 12, IV. Nos. 5 and 6, referred to by Geiger, Geiger's own vocabulary and Nevill's, all of which have been printed, and, in addition, there are a few still in manuscript. Mr. H. C. P. Bell, late of the Civil Service, has a considerable list of words, compiled by the late Mr. Hulugalle,

Ratemahatmayā of the Wannī Hat Pattu in the Kurunegala District, and Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), has compiled a list, which, it is hoped, will shortly be published in the *Ceylon Antiquary*.

As regards the present position and condition of the Roḍiyás, probably the best account is that given by Mr. Denham on pages 213 to 219 of his *Report on the Census of 1911*, which contains much that is of interest about these people. Sessional Paper III of 1905 may also be found interesting in this connection.

I should like here to express my thanks to the Hon. Mr. J. G. Fraser, C.M.G., who has very kindly checked the translation, and has undertaken to see the work through the press, and also to Mr. H. C. P. Bell, who first suggested that the translation should be made, and who has helped me very materially in the course of the work.

I may add that the German original will be found in the Colombo Museum, bound in one volume with Geiger's "*Mādivische Studien*."

C. H. COLLINS.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE RODIYÁS OF CEYLON.

By WILHELM GEIGER.

THE Roḍiyás are a class of people in Ceylon who stand outside the caste system and who are considered by the Sinhalese to be unclean and despicable. They live in small villages or hamlets in the jungle, away from the roads, and are excluded from intercourse with society. They are to be found principally in the precincts of Kaḍugannāwa near Kandy, at Ratnapura and in the neighbourhood of Kurunegala. I was not able to estimate their total number, but it is in any case inconsiderable.

I will speak in detail in another place of

the social position of the Roḍiyás, their customs and usages, their character and their mode of life. Here I will only set forth a few particulars.

The etymology of the word Roḍiyá is obscure, as is that of the name *ḡāḍiyā*, which they are accustomed to give to themselves. It is, however, not unlikely that *roḍiyá* is connected with the Sinhalese *roḍḍa* pl. *roḍu*, the meaning of which is given by Clough *Sinh.-English Dictionary*, Colombo, 1892) as "saw dust, refuse, sediment, rubbish, chaff." The Roḍiyás are indeed the "rubbish" of

Sinhalese Society. But this comparison does not carry us much further, for we have still to find an etymology for the word *Rodḍa*. The Roḍiyás themselves consider it to be the proper name of the founder of their caste.

Concerning the origin of the Roḍiyás, about which we are equally in the dark, I would refer (for the sake of completeness) to the naturally quite legendary account given by Rob. Knox (*Historical Relation of Ceylon*, German edition 1680, p. 145 ff). This relates that there are people in Ceylon, who, on account of their misdeeds, were abased to the lowest depths by former kings. By this they were bound to show honour to other people in a way which it was otherwise the custom to give only to Kings and Princes. The ancestors of these people were said to have been "Dodda Vaddahs," i.e., hunters, who had to supply the royal table with game. On one occasion they furnished the kitchen with human flesh instead of the flesh of wild animals, and this the King found so tasty that he ordered them to bring more of this game. But the King's barber discovered the matter and revealed it to his Lord. The latter was so enraged at the ruthless act that the punishment of death seemed to him too light. He decided that from that time forward all Dodda Vaddahs should be cast out from human intercourse, and with their descendants should for ever lead the life of beggars without home and without possessions.

There can be no doubt that Knox here speaks of the Roḍiyás, for in the further course of his description he directly designates the people with this name. Chitty, in the work which we are just about to mention, expresses the view that the Roḍiyás represent a different race from the Sinhalese. That they are either a remnant of the aborigines of Ceylon, or descendants of itinerant Indian shepherds who had come from the continent to the Island.

As I have already stated in my description of my travels (*Sitzungsberichte*, 1896, p. 193) I could perceive, at any rate externally, no essential difference between Sinhalese and Roḍiyás. That the Roḍiyá men are, in general, taller and more strongly built, may be sufficiently explained by the separation of the two classes of people which has lasted for centuries. The Roḍiyás have not shared in full measure in the degeneration of the Sinhalese race. According to the photographs which I possess of the Roḍiyás the build of their nose certainly seems to me to be different from that of the Sinhalese.

In support of Chitty's opinion I may perhaps refer to a passage in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (X 91-93) according to which King Paṇḍukābhaya (5th Cent. A.D.), had Caṇḍálas brought from India to Ceylon to perform the most lowly services, such as the cleaning of the streets and the emptying of latrines. The assumption, however, that the Roḍiyás are descended from such Indian "outcasts" is, however, nothing more than a possibility.

As to the speech of the Roḍiyás, I will set out here in advance my opinion, of which I will give the proof later. The Roḍiyá tongue is by no means an independent dialect, but grammatically it coincides completely with the Sinhalese of the lower classes of the people. A number of words, especially substantives and verbs, are however peculiar to it, and appear in the place of specific Sinhalese words. The character and origin of these words I shall have to discuss later, and to draw my conclusions therefrom. My next task is to communicate the material in the form of lists of words, which I have collected. My sources for these are the following:—

1. Ch.—S.C. Chitty. *Some account of the Roḍiyás, with a specimen of their language*. Journal of the R.A.S. C.B., II, No. 8, p. 171 ff. The vocabulary given here contains 123 Roḍiyá words. I notice that Chitty gives a correct judgment concerning the character of

the Roḍiyá language, when he says on page 177: "The ordinary language of the Roḍiyás is Sinhalese, which they, however, speak with a quick accent, mixed with a number of words peculiar to themselves, in order to render their speech unintelligible to strangers." Chitty has unfortunately omitted to exemplify this by giving specimens of the language. At the time that I went to Ceylon, as far as I know, not a single sentence in Roḍiyá had been published, no grammatical form had been communicated and no attempt whatever had been made to elucidate in any way the words then known, or to classify them.

2. G1 = A. Mendis Gunasekera Mudaliyar, *Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language* (Colombo, 1891) where on page 384 a list of 64 words will be found.

3. F "The Roḍiyás of Ceylon," in the *Monthly Literary Register* for Ceylon, New Series III (1895) No. 11, p. 251 ff. No. 12, p. 285 ff.; IV (1896) No 5, p. 103 ff. No. 6, p. 127 ff. Part of the vocabulary here given appeared during my stay in Ceylon, part after my return. The whole essay was of an earlier period and came to light among the papers left by the late Mr. A. M. Ferguson. But as Mr. Donald Ferguson wrote to me, it did not originate with him, but with an unknown author. Mr. D. F. was also so good as to send me the numbers of the *Monthly Register* concerned.

4. Some collections made at the spot, as follows:—

(a) Rw. Ridí-williya. This is the name of my first informant, a Roḍiyá from the village of Uḍu-gal-pitiya in the District of Kaḍugannáwa.¹ I had the man in my house in Colombo on the 23rd and 24th December, 1895. The young brother-in-law of my friend A. Gunasekera Mudaliyar, Valentine de Soysa, rendered me meritorious assistance as interpreter.

(b) Kur=Kurunāgala. When I had convinced myself in Ratnapura that the Roḍiyás of that place had exchanged their language for the customary Sinhalese, I betook myself to Kurunāgala, in order to complete and check the collections I had begun in Colombo. This seemed to me the more necessary, as I did not trust fully Ridí-williya's particulars. The man gave me the impression that he had already unlearned much of his "slang," and that he would rather conceal than impart that which he did know. He seemed to be ashamed of his own language and to wish to parade his knowledge of Sinhalese. My informants in Kurunāgala were called Pūla and Appuva, and came from the village of Hadiravalanī, 10 kilometres away. They were two quite intelligent men, who grasped my intentions with remarkable quickness and gave their replies to my questions with great zeal and much understanding.

On this material is based the following list of words, which, though I do not think it to be altogether exhaustive, can nevertheless claim a high degree of completeness. I note finally that all vocabularies (Nos. 1-3) published hitherto are merely dry lists of words. All the explanations of words, and etymological comparisons which I give in the following, originate with me, and I am answerable for them. That many of them are very problematical, lies in the nature of the matter.

A. LIST OF WORDS.

I. God and the World.

- 1 God—*bakurā*. *bakuru-damana*, "Temple, Wihāra," properly House of God. I divide *baku + rā*; Sin. *bakka* "great powerful" and *rā*, "demon, spirit." Sin. *Devīyanvahansē*.
- 2 Demon—*mūnusa* (Kur).—Sin. *yakṣaya*
- 3 Heaven—*bingiri* (Kur). Lit. Earth hill, the mountain which is raised over the earth, whilst the earth itself is distin-

1. It is to be noted that this man was also questioned by Mudaliyar A. Gunasekera who then passed on to me his account. Words which have been taken over from this I have indicated by the addition of G2.

- guished as the Earth Plain. Rw. gave me for "Heaven" *uhālla* "because it is high." Ch. has *teri-angē* "the great high thing." *Hāpangē* (F) can scarcely be right. I note here that *angaya*, *angē* "body limb. thing, object" is very often used in conjunction with a noun for designating things, just as *angayā* is used for naming living beings—Sin. ahasa.
- 4 Sun—*īlayat-teri-angē*. Concerning *teri* see. No. 182. *īlayat* seems to strengthen the concept, or to signify "above, in the heights" (? Sin. *ihala*) ; "the sun rises" is *ī pāyenava* (this=*pāvenavā*=*pāmvenava*=Sin. *pahanvenavā*) "The sun sets" *ī bahinavā* (= Sin.)—Sin. Ira.
- 5 Year—*kōṇa*—Sin. *avurudda*.
- 6 Day—*girāva* (G 2)—Sin. *davasa*.
- 7 Moon—*hāpa-teri-angē* (F G) a strange formation as *hāpa* (No. 183) and *teri* (No. 128) are opposites ; presumably the moon is distinguished as the thing which is now small, now large.—Sin. *handā*.
- 8 Star—*dulumu-angaval* (Kur). Lit. Fire-body, a plural form after the manner familiar in Sinhalese. The stars are divided into *teri-angaval* and *hāpan-gaval* (Ch. has only the former, F only the latter). These may signify the good and the evil stars. Possibly they mean merely the large and small stars.—Sin. *Tarakāva*.
- 9 Light—*hurugu* to me a doubtful word (? *hiru*, *iru*, "sun") F. Ch. G 2 have *gigiriya*. In Sinhalese *gigiriya* signifies "clatter, thunder."—Sin. *Ehya*.
- 10 Darkness—*kalu-vālla āli*. *kalu-vāli unā*, night fell (came on). Probably a corruption of Sinhalese *kaḷuvara*.—Sin. *andhakarakama*.
- 11 Fire—*dulumu*, kindle the fire, *dulumu teri-karanavā* ; extinguish the fire=*dulumu-hāpa-karanavā*. According to F *dulumu-hāpa-karanavā* signifies also "kindle," "burn" ; *dulumu* is related to Sk. V *jval* p. *jalati*, etc., Sin. *dula*, *ḍuḷu*, "shining, gleaming," *dilihenavā*, "shine"—Sin. *gini*.
- 12 Water—*nilāṭu*, also=rain : *nilāṭu teri-venava*. "it is raining." According to Rw *valā-kulen nilāṭu tāvinnavā* = "water runs from the clouds"—Sin. *vatura*.
- 13 Wind—(*hulanga* = Sin.) Rw rendered "the wind blows" by *hulanga allanavā*. Sin. *allanavā*, "seize, catch." According to A. Gunasekera one can say *ruvala-ṭa hulan allanavā nā* (sic) "the wind does not strike the sail." Otherwise, *hulanga gasanavā* or *hamanavā*=the wind blows—Sin. *hulanga*.
- 14 Thunder and lightening—Rw gave me for "it thundered," only the Sinhalese expression *hena pipirenavā* ; on the contrary G 2 has *pattikāvā teri-venava* (*pattikava teri-karanava*—to fire off a gun—No. 172). For "it lightens" Rw said *viduli koṭanava* more accurately translated by "the lightening beats in" (*schlägt ein*). Cf. Sin. *Koṭanavā*, "to cut as with an axe"—Sin. *viduliya*, *giguma*.
- 15 Earth—*ḍintalavuva*. Sin. *bin*, *bim* + *talāva*, *tala*—Sin. *poḷova*.
- 16 Hill—*teri-boraluva*, lit. "great stone," cf. the foll.—Sin. *kandu*.
- 17 Stones—*boralu* (plur) also = clay, sand, rubble—Sin. *boraḷu*, "small stones, rubble (gravel).
- 18 Lime—*aharabulu*—Sin. *hupu*.
- 19 River—*nilāṭu-angē*. According to Rw also stream, spring, well, pond—Sin. *ganga*, *oya*, *linda*, *taṭākaya*.
- 20 Pond, tank—*nilāṭu-angē*. According to F. *nilāṭu-kaṭṭinna*—Sin. *taṭākaya*.
- 21 Sea—*teri-nilāṭu-angē* or (F.) *teri-nilāṭu-kaṭṭinna*—Sin. *mūda*.

- 22 Forest, wilderness, jungle—*raluva*. I derive the word from Sin. *raṭu*, "rough"—Sin. *kālāva*.
- 23 Field—*pangurulla* (F.) *paṅgurālla* (Ch.) According to G. 2 *atu-angē* from *atu* "twig, or shoot"—Sin. *keta*.

II. Man.

- 24 Man—*gāvā*, *angayā*. With the latter cf. No. 3—Sin. *miniḥā*.
- 25 Woman—*gāvī*, *angī*—Sin. *gāṇī*.
- 26 Wife, female—*pālla*. Perhaps to be compared with the Sinhalese *palli*, "woman of a low caste." The masculine counterpart of *pālla* seems to be *pāllā* (in No. 42)—Sin. *strī*.
- 27 Boy, child—*bilāṇḍā*. Sin. *bilindā*, which is not used in ordinary conversation, but which is used by the Vāddas (Gunasekara, p. 383). It probably belongs to the Kandy dialect—Sin. *lamayā*, *daruvā*.
- 28 Girl—*bilāṇḍī*—Sin. *Gāṇu-lamayā*.
- 29 Father, mother—*hidulu-gāvā*, *hidulu-gāvī* (Ch F. G.), that is, "white (=old) man, white woman." Cf. No. 181—Sin. *tāttā*, *ammā*.
- 30 Son, Daughter—*gāḍi-bilāṇḍā*, *gāḍi-bilāṇḍī* (respectful—cf No. 40) or (G) *bilāṇḍu-gāvā*, *bilāṇḍu-gāvī* or (F) *bilāṇḍu-an aya*, *bilāṇḍu-angī* (also for son-in-law and daughter-in-law)—Sin. *putā*, *duva*.
- 31 Brother, sister—*ekangē-gāḍiyā* (for both, according to G) or (F) *ekangē-angayā*, *ekangē-angī*. It signifies the people who belong to the same group or family (*eka + angaya*). The expressions are also used for brother and sister-in-law—Sin. *sahōdarayā*, *sahōdari*.
- 32 Grandfather, grandmother — *īlayat-hidulu-gāvā*, *īlayat-hidulu-gāvī* (Ch F) v. Nos. 4, 27—Sin. *attā*, *āttā*.
- 33 Uncle, aunt—*loku-appā* (*māmā*, Sin.), *nāndammā*. *Loku-appā* (great father) denotes the father's elder brother; *nāndammā* is composed of *nānda*, "aunt" + *ammā*, "mother." *Nānda* alone denotes, according to Rw, a dhoby woman. According to F *hidulu-gāvā -vī* are used for "uncle, aunt"—Sin. *māmā*, *bāppā*, *nāndā*.
- 34 King, Queen—*terī bakurā*, *terī-bakuru-pālla* (G 2). Cf. Sans. *dēva*, v. Nos. 1 and 26—Sin. *raja*, *bisava*.
- 35 Governor—*īlayat-terī-gāvā* G23. v. Nos. 4 and 24—Sin. *utumānanvahansē*.
- 36 Officer, superior—*terī-kaddiyā* G 2—Sin. *nilakārayā*.
- 37 Priest—*navatā* (corrupted from Sin. *nuvaṭa*). *ratavuvā* (F.)—Sin. *hāmu-duruvō*.
- 38 Buddhist Monk—*gāvā*—Sin. *paviddā*.
- 39 Doctor—*muluhun-angayā*, i.e. "medicine-man." See No. 173—Sin. *sallavedā*.
- 40 Roḍiyā—*gāḍiyā*, fem. *gāḍī*.
- 41 Tamil—*hāpayā* (G 2), i.e. "wicked person"—Sin. *demalā*.
- 42 Malay—*mūnissan-pāllā* (G2). Nos. 2 and 26 ?—Sin. *jāvā*.
- 43 Moorman—*hurubuvā* (G 2). Refer to No. 158 ?—Sin. *marakkalayā*.
- 44 Smith—*dulumuvā* (G 2), i.e. "fireman." Refer to No. 11—Sin. *ācāriyā*.
- 45 Carpenter—*vaḍukattiyā* (Rw). *vaḍu* is Sin. "carpentry work," "*kattiyā*" perhaps an old word=P. *kattā*, E. *katu*—Sin. *vaḍuvā*.
- 46 Dhoby, washer—*potiyā*, *vilibuvā* (G 2). According to Rw, the former would signify a washer for people of a lower caste, the latter a washer for people of a higher caste. Both expressions signify "clothes-man." *Poti*, *potiya* is in R simply "clothes, dress." With *vilibuvā* I compare Sinhalese *vilimbu* (ornamented border of a garment, Clough), that may be used—*pars pro toto*—for a rich, excellent, garment, according to R—Sin. *apullannā*.

- 47 Chunam (lime)-burner — *aharabuluvā* (G 2). Refer to No. 18—Sin. *hunnā*.
- 48 Tom-tom beater—*nallayā* (G 2)—Sin. *beravā*.
- 49 Man of jaggery caste (who makes sugar molasses from palms)—*galmiri-tōkkā*, cf No. 151. G 2 has *galmidi-tōkkā*—Sin. *hakuru-minihā*.
- 50 People of low caste, e.g. Sin. *batgama-durayā* and *paduvā*, who have to carry palanquins, and to procure food for elephants—*migiṭi-tōkkā*. *migiṭi* (No. 148)=Sin. *bat*.
- 51 Sailor—*diyapiṭakukulā* (G 2). Is probably a jocular appellation meaning *diya*, "water" + *piṭa* "back, surface" + *kukulā*, "cock"—Sin. *orupadina-toṭiyā*.
- 52 Tailor—*gettamkaṭuvā* (G 2). Sin. *gettam* is "hem, seam," preserved in *gettam-karaṇavā*, "to stitch": *kaṭuva* is "needle," in Sin. *idikaṭuva*—Sin. *mahana minihā*.
- 53 Basket maker—*hāṇḍayā* (G. 2)—Sin. *kuḷupottā*.
- 54 Enemy, rascal, thief—*patiliyā*, *patili-gāvā* (F). Cf 105—Sin. *horā*.
- III. The Human Body and its Parts.**
- 55 Body—*angē*. Sin. *aṅgaya*. Cf. No. 3—Sin. *sarīraya*.
- 56 Skin—*piṭavanna* (G 2), *murutu-gāvilla* (F). Cf. with this No. 138 and No. 139—Sin. *hama*.
- 57 Flesh—*murulayan*, *angē-murutayan*—Sin. *mas*.
- 58 Blood—*latu*, lit. "red." Cf. No. 180—Sin. *lē*.
- 59 Sweat—*nilāṭu*, i.e. "water," *nilāṭu tāvinnenavā*, "to sweat"—Sin. *ḍādiya*.
- 60 Spit—*gallē-latu* (Ch F) i.e. "mouth-blood." Cf No. 68. Note that the spit of the people is coloured blood-red from their continued chewing of betel.
- 61 Tears—*lavaṭē-nilāṭu* (F) i.e. eye water—Sin. *kāndula*.
- 62 Head—*kerāḍiya*. The same word is used for forehead and face—Sin. *isa*.
- 63 Hair—*kaluvāli*. Cf No. 10—Sin. *isakes*.
- 64 Face—*iravuva*. So F, and it would then be possible to give for the word an explanation which was at least, to some extent, plausible. *Iravuva* can scarcely be anything else than Sin. *ira + avuva* = "sunshine." I myself have only experienced the meaning "ear" for *iravuva*—Sin. *mūna*.
- 65 Eye—*lāvaṭē* (*lāoṭe*). "Blind" is *lāvaṭa-hāpayā*, "eye-bad"—Sin. *āsa*.
- 66 Ear—*iravuva*. "deaf," *iravu-hāpayā*. Rw gave me for "ear" *dāṅgulu-angē*, and I am told that in Sin. *dāṅgula* signifies the artificial ears which the devil-dancers are accustomed to fasten right and left on the cheeks. *Dāṅgula* appears to me to denote all limbs which are found in pairs—Sin. *kaṇa*.
- 67 Nose—*nilāṭu-angē*, i.e. "water-limb." According to Ch *iravuva*!—Sin. *nāhaya*.
- 68 Mouth—*galla*. In Sin. *gala* means "neck, throat." Note that in Sin. *kaṭa* also combines the meanings "mouth" and "neck"—Sin. *kaṭa*.
- 69 Teeth—*gallē-boralu*, i.e. "mouth-stones"—Sin. *data*.
- 70 Tongue—*gal-gavunu* (F)—Sin. *diva*.
- 71 Chin—*allē-angē* (F). [Sin. *nikāṭa*.—Ed., C. A.]
- 72 Beard—*gallē-kaluvāli*; s. Nos. 10 and 63,—Sin. *rāvula*.
- 73 Breast—*pekinitta* (Kur. G. 2). The word signifies, I was told, the entire trunk above the navel. It may be related to Sin. *pekaniya*, "navel." According to G the word for "belly" is *pikiritta*. According to F it is *pekiritta*—Sin. *papuva*.

- 74 Female breast—*hidulla*, from *hidulu*, "milk." s. No. 155—Sin. *tanaya*, *piya-yura*.
- 75 Arm—*dāṅgula*, Kur. *dagula*. A word of many significations. In the various vocabularies are found the meanings, "arm, hand, elbow, leg, hip, foot." For explanation s. No. 66. Ch has *ḍagula*, "hand"—Sin. *bāhuva*.
- 76 Hand. According to Rw the "right hand"—*dakunē vāmē*, the "left hand" *vāmē-vāmē*. "Hand" would simply be *dāṅgulu-vāmē*—Sin. *ata*.
- 77 Leg—*dāṅgula*. I was expressly assured in Kur. that *dāṅgula* signifies "arm" as well as "leg"—Sin. *kakuḷa*.
- 78 Foot—*bintalavuvē dāṅgula* (Ch)—Sin. *aḍiya*.
- 79 Cholera—*iravāna* (F). It is surely the same word as *iravanna* which F gives for "fever"—Sin. *visūcikāva*, *janarō-gaya*.
- 80 Small-pox—*teri-bakuru-gaḷu* (F)—Sin. *vasūriya*.
- IV. The Animal World.**
- 81 Elephant—*palānuva*. Female elephant *palānuden*(F); Elephant without tusks *hāpa-palānuva*, elephant with tusks *teri-palānuva*—Sin. *āttā*, *aliya*.
- 82 Dog—*būssā*, bitch, *bīssī*. (Kur.) Ch. F.G. have *bussā*, *bissī*—Sin. *ballā*.
- 83 Cat—*buhākavanna* (Ch G). In Kur. I heard *ḍumanē būssā* and F also has this with *buhākavanna*—Sin. *balalā*.
- 84 Ox, cow—*lūddā*, *liddī*—Sin. *harakā*, *kī*.
- 85 Calf—*lūdu-bilāndā*. The word denotes also "sheep, goat." (Kur.)—Sin. *vassā*.
- 86 Domestic pig—*gal-murutayā* (Kur). Cf. Nos. 147 and 111.—Sin. *ūrā*.
- 87 Wild pig, boar,—*raluvē gal-murutayā* (Kur F.)—Sin. *ūrā*.
- 88 Horse—*teri-lūddā* (Kur.) F; *teru-lūddā* or *murutayā*—Sin. *āsvayā*.
- 89 Buffalo—*miḡiṭi-lūddā*, i.e. "rice ox"; F. *panguru-lūddā*, i.e. field ox. The buffalo lives in the rice fields.—Sin. *mivā*.
- 90 Bear—*muruti-migana-angayā*, i.e. the flesh eating animal (cf. No. 57). Ch. has *murutivīganangayā*, F. *muttimiganangayā*—Sin. *valahā*.
- 91 Panther—*raluvē būssā*, i.e. "jungle dog." It also signifies "fox"—Sin. *kotiya*, *diviyā*.
- 92 Jackal—*pangurulla būssā* (Ch), i.e. field dog—Sin. *sivalā*.
- 93 Stag—*raluvē lūddā*, i.e. forest ox. F. has *raluvē murutayā*—Sin. *muḇā*.
- 94 Monkey (a) *Wandurā*—*būlāvā*; (b) *Rilavā*: *nātuvā*—Sin. *vāndurā*, *rilavā*.
- 95 Snake—*ilayā*. With this word, or with *hāpa-ilayā* the cobra in particular is denoted. The polonga is *hāpangayā*, the "wicked animal" or *galla-hāpayā*, i.e. the "biting (lit. bad mouthed) animal"—Sin. *sarpayā*.
- 96 Crocodile—*nilātūvē-galla-hāpayā* (see above). F. has also *nilātu-teri-hāpayā*—Sin. *kimbulā*.
- 97 Iguana—*bimpallā* (F). The kabara-goya (hydrosaurus salvator) is *raluvē-bimpalu-angayā*, connected with *bim* "earth" and Sin. *palli*, "small house lizard"—Sin. *kabaragoyā*, *talagoyā*.
- 98 Lizard—*aharubuhuva* (Ch) cf. below—Sin. *hūnā*.
- 99 Tortoise—*pēlava*. A particular variety is called *hidulu-pēlāva*, which corresponds exactly to the Sin. *kiri-ibbā*.
- 100 Spider—*hāpayō*, *hāpangō* (F). *hāpayō* (the small, wicked, ugly). It denotes also the mosquito and the ant—Sin. *makuḷuvā*.
- 101 Glow-worm—*dulumu-angē*—Sin. *kana-mādiriyā*.
- 102 Worm—*bintalavuvē hāpangē*—Sin. *paṇuvā*.
- 103 Louse—*keradiyē patiliyā* (G 2). Cf. Nos. 62 and 105—Sin. *ukuṇā*.

- 104 Flea—*hāpa-angayā* (G 2)—Sin. *balu-mākkā*.
- 105 Bird—*patiliyā* (F). Cf. Nos. 108 and 54; it must belong to the Sans. *patrin*—Sin. *kurullā*.
- 106 Nest—*patiliyannē dumaṇa* (F). Cf. No. 128—Sin. *kādālla*.
- 107 Egg—*lāvunna* (F). Cf. No. 114—Sin. *bijja*.
- 108 Cock—*patiliyā* (G F). Also = duck, goose—Sin. *kukulā*.
- 109 Hen—*patili-keṭa* (G F). Cf. Sin. *keṭa* = "little woman, little wife"—Sin. *kikili*.
- 110 Chicken—*patili-bilāṇḍā*—(F) Sin. *kukul pāṭiyā*.
- 111 Fish—*murutayan* (G 2) *murtin* (Kur.) because people have a predilection for eating the flesh of fish. For another explanation see below. Cf. No. 147. F. Ch. have *nilāṭuvā* which is connected with No. 12—Sin. *māluvā*, *mas*.
- V. Vegetable Kingdom.**
- 112 Tree—*uhālla*. According to Rw also = bush, grass, in short all that grows upwards. Cf. also No. 3—Sin. *uhallā* = "a big tall man," connected with *uha*, *usa*, Pali *ucca*, "high"—Sin. *gaha*.
- 113 Leaf—*rābota*. Also the leaf of a book. F has *rābot*—Sin. *kola*.
- 114 Fruit—*lāvunu*. Belongs, I believe, to Sin. *lava* "the cutting off, the harvesting." Cf. *lavaṇa*, *lū*—Sin. *geḍiya*.
- 115 Blossom, flower—*uhulil-aṅgē* (Ch. F). Connected with No. 112—Sin. *mala*.
- 116 Branch—*matilla*. Also in contradistinction to the following, a more definite determination, *uhāllē matilla* connected with Sin. *matu*—Sin. *atta*.
- 117 Root—*bintalavuvē matilla*—Sin. *mulaya*.
- 118 Coconut—*maṭabu-lāvuna*, (Kur.) i.e. "Oil-fruit." Cf. No. 154. F. has *maṭubu-lāvunu*, Ch. *maṭu-lāvunu*. The coconut nut palm is *maṭabu-lāvunu-uhālla*—Sin. *polgaha*, *polgeḍiya*.
- 119 Breadfruit—*murutayan-lāvunu*, "the edible, enjoyable fruit." *Lāvunu* alone is also used especially for breadfruit and jak fruit (Kur.). s. No. 147.—Sin. *kosgaha*—*kosgeḍiya* (sic).
- 120 Arecanut—*pongalan* (Kur.)—Sin. *puvak*.
- 121 Plantain—*patbarukan* (F.G.) The fruit is called *patbarukan-aṅgē*—Sin. *kesel*.
- 122 Banyan (Indian Fig)—*matili* or *matili-uhālla*. The word is the plural of *matilla*; consider the air-roots of the *Ficus Indica*. *Matilla* does not merely mean "branch," but is used for "stick, stem, stalk." For example, *matilla teri karapan*, "place a tree-trunk (as a bridge) over the stream." One can also use with more precision *matili-uhālla* for "banyan"—Sin. *nuga-gaha*.
- 123 Bamboo—*matili*. See the foregoing—Sin. *uṇa-gaha*.
- 124 Rice (a) the plant in the field (paddy)—*atu*; (b) the harvested grain (Sin. *hāl*)—*maḍu*; (c) the cooked rice (Sin. *bat*) *migiṭi*. *Maḍu* is probably the same word as the Sin. *mada*, *maḍaya*, "kernel of a fruit," and in the same way *atu* is a corruption of the synonym *āṭaya*. *Migiṭi* is to be associated with the verb *miganuvā*, to eat, No. 227. F has *atumaḍu* for "rice".—Sin. *vī*, *hāl*, *bat*.
- 125 Orange—*āmbaruḷu* (F.); ? connected with Sin. *āmbul*, "sour." Sin. *doḍama*.
- 126 Betel—*tabala* (Kur.);—Ch. *tobalā*, F. *tābala*. Clearly Sansc. *tāmbūla* (E Kuhn).—Sin. *bulat*.
- 127 Tobacco—*dum-rabota*, i.e. "smoke-leaf," F *dun rābot*, Ch merely *rebut*.—Sin. *dum-kola*.
- V. House and Furniture, Food and Drink, Clothes and Ornaments.**
- 128 House—*dumana*. Connected with *duma*, "smoke" (Gunasekara).—Sin. *gē*.
- 129 Door—*digguva*. Open the door, *digguva hāpa-karapan*. Close the door, *digguva teri-karapan*. The word (from Rw's

- account) is to me doubtful. F has *dumanē matilla*.—Sin. dora.
- 130 Roof—*pala, vahalla*. The former (= Sin. *paḷaya*) according to Rw indicates the interior roof; the latter (= Sin. *vahala*), the exterior roof.
- 131 Village—*raluvē duman*, i.e. "houses in the jungle." The usual term for a Roḍiyā settlement is *kuppāyama* (*yama* = *gama*, "village")—Sin. *gama*.
- 132 Town—*teri-duman*, i.e. "many houses."—Sin. *nuvara*.
- 133 Prison—*hāpa dumaṇa* (G2).—Sin. *hira-gē*.
- 134 Bridge—*matilla*, properly "stem, beam"—s. No. 122.—Sin. *pālama*.
- 135 Hearth—*dulumu-angē*, i.e. "fireplace."—Sin. *lipa*.
- 136 Firewood—*matili* (s. No. 122) *hāpa matili*.—Sin. *li*.
- 137 Bed—*lāvaṭa angē matilla*. F.—Sin. *āṇḍa*.
- 138 Mat—*piṭavanna*. Related to *piṭa* "basket," since *piṭavanna* can denote a basket and, in fact, everything made from rushes; thence it means in general a "covering."—Sin. *pādura*.
- 139 Cord, Rope—*gāvilla* (F). The Roḍiyās make straps from the skins of fallen animals. *Gāvilla* (related to Sin. *gava*) was presumably originally "skin," equivalent to Sin. *hama*. Cf. No. 56.—Sin. *Kambaya* (sic).
- 140 Cup—*nilāṭu-migana-vāmē* or (F) *nilāṭu-migana angē*, thing or vessel for drinking water.—Sin. *kōppaya*.
- 141 Pot—*vāmē*. (Ch.) According to the context one distinguishes between *nilāṭu-vāmē*, "a water pot," *migiṭi-vāmē*, "rice pot," etc.—Sin. *valāṇḍa, kalaya*.
- 142 Plate—*migiṭi-migana vāmē*.—Sin. *pin-gāna*.
- 143 Bottle—*atu-angē* (F).—Sin. *bōtalē*.
- 144 Box—*bilḍu-angē* (F).—Sin. *peṭṭiya*.
- 145 Mortar and pestle—*lukkana-angaval* (Ch. F.)—related to No. 22.—Sin. *vange-ḍiya, mōlgaha*.
- 146 Musical Instrument—*uhālla* (F). The tom-tom is called *lukkana-uhālla*. A special kind is named *ekāsberē* (Sin. *ekasbera* (Clough) = *eka* + *as* "side" + *beraya* "drum") because a skin is drawn over one side only. Of another, *bum-māḍiya*, F says it is "mostly made of clay (?) and a skin tightly drawn over it very much like a tamborine." The general term *uhālla* is to be explained from the form of the drum, Sin. *turyabhāṇḍaya*.
- 147 Victuals, Food—*murutayan*, *murtin*. (Kur). Under *murutayan* is understood all that is cooked and eaten. See Nos. 57, 111, 119.—Sin. *kāma*.
- 148 Rice—*migiṭi*. See No. 124.—Sin. *bat*.
- 149 Beef—*lūḍḍu-murtin* (F).—Sin. *harak-mas*.
- 150 Honey—*galmīri*, i.e. mouth-sweet; *mīri* = Sin. *mihiri*.—Sin. *mī-pāni*.
- 151 Jaggery—*uhāllē-galmīri*.—Sin. *hakuru*.
- 152 Toddy, unfermented Palm wine, *uhālle-nilāṭu*.—Sin. *rā, surā*.
- 153 Arrack, fermented toddy—*hāpa-nilāṭu*.—"bad drink." One also hears *teri-nilāṭu*, "good drink"—a different standpoint!
- 154 Oil—*maṭubu* (F G 2). S. No. 118—Also for ghee, melted butter.—Sin. *tel*.
- 155 Milk—*hidulu* "the white." See No. 181. "To milk" = *hidulu-hāpa-karanavā* (F).—Sin. *kiri*.
- 156 Butter—*lūddannē maṭubu*, i.e. oil, fat from cattle.—Sin. *veṇḍaru*.
- 157 Cake—*galmīri* (F). See No. 150.—Sin. *kāvuma, roṭiya*.
- 158 Salt—*hurubu*.—Sin. *luṇu*.
- 159 Clothing—*poṭiya*. Probably connected with Sin. *potta*, "bark, bast," because this was the material from which the Roḍiyās originally made their clothes.—Sin. *āṇḍum*.

- 160 Pearls—*teri-boralu* (F) "the good, valuable small stones.—Sin. Mutu.
 161 Arm ring—*dāṅgul-vāmē* (G 2). *dāgulē-angē* (F).—Sin. valalla.
 162 Ear ornament—*iravuvē-angē* (F).—Sin. arungolaya.

VII. Metals, Weapons, Tools and the like.

- 163 Gold. Silver—*teri-dulumu* (Kur). Cf. No. 11. The Rodiyá makes no distinction between the two metals. He does not take gold into account! Gold and Silver coins: *teri-galaṭu* or (F) *teri-angaval*.—Sin. ratran, ridi.
 164 Copper—*hāpa-dulumu* (Kur): copper coins *hāpa-galaṭu*. According to F *galaṭu* could be used only for copper.—Sin. tamba.
 165 Brass — *hāpa-teri-angaval* (F).—Sin. pittala.
 166 Knife—*nāḍuva*, also="dagger"; *nāḍuva teri-karanavā*. "engrave." "cut"; *nāḍuven lukkanavā*, "stab."—Sin. pihiyē.
 167 Sword—*teri-nāḍuva*—Sin. kaḍuva.
 168 Axe—*matili-hāpa-karana-nāḍuva*, "knife for making timber small."—Sin. porova.
 169 Bow—*āduma* (F). Rw gave me only the current word "dunna."
 170 Bowstring—*gāvilla*. Cf. No. 139.—Sin. lanuva.
 171 Arrow—*pattikava* (F).—Interesting if correct. Rw gave me the Sin. *italē*.—Sin. *iya, iḡaha*.
 172 Gun—*pattikāva*. In Kurunāgala I heard the pretty circumlocution *galu-karana-matilla* "noise stick." Cf. Nos. 116, 122, 214.—*pattikāva teri-karanavā*, "to fire the gun."—Sin. tuvakkuva.
 173 Gunpowder—*muluhun*(F).—Also=medicine. *hun*. Sin. *huṇu*. Cf. No. 39.—Sin. *veḍibehet*.
 174 Cart, Waggon—*lūddanṭu-bandanagahana-angē* (F). "the thing to which one harnesses the cattle." Rw gave me only

the Sin. *karattē* and *lūddu-karattē* for "Ox cart."

- 175 Yoke—*lūddan-de-girāva*—Sin. *viyagaha*.
 176 Pole—*bōmbuliya*=Sin. *bōmbu*, the name of a tree, from which presumably they make the pole, + *liya*, "timber." I was told that the expression *bōmliya* is also used in Sinhalese for "pole."
 177 Plough—*lūddan-hāpakarana-angē* (F) Cf. Nos. 174, 179.—Sin. *nagula*.
 178 Goad—*lūddanṭa-lukkana-matilla* (F) "stick for beating or goading cattle."
 179 Ship—*nilāṭuvē-yāpena-angē*. "the thing that is in the water." (F) has for boat *nilāṭu-angē-hāpa-karana-matilla* "the beam which is consumed in the pond, etc." (S. Nos. 19 and 20.)—Sin. *oruva*.

VIII. Adjectives, Adverbs, Particles.

- 180 red—*latu*=Sin. *ratu*.
 181 white—*hidulu* (F *hidulu-hāpa-kama*) Related to Sin. *sudu*, *hudn*. Cf. No. 29. In Kurunāgala I was given *potiya* (also G 2)=white dress (No. 159), probably by a misunderstanding. The remaining words indicating colour correspond with the Sinhalese.
 182 Great, long, good, beautiful—*teri*. The original meaning from the Pali *thera*, Sin. *tera*, seems to have persisted fairly well here. Sin. *hōnda*, *loku*, *dik*.
 183 Small, short, bad, ugly—*hāpa*. The two adjectives. *teri* and *hāpa*. are applied in most numerous senses, and are used for the formation of numerous combinations. I take *hāpa* to be identical with the Sinhalese *hapa*, "anything chewed, rubbish, refuse" (Clough).—Sin. *naraka*, *kuḍā*, *puñci*.
 184 Distant—*galuvē* (F); *galuva* is at other places "noise." Nos. 172, 211, 214.—Sin. *dura*.
 185 Near—*bilāṇḍu galuvē* (F). Sin. *laṅga*.
 186 Above. aloft—*uhālla* (G 2).—Sin. *ihalaṭa*.

- 187 Below, low—*pahala* (= Sin. bintalaouvē) (G 2) = to the earth.—Sin. *pahata*.
 188 Yes—*teri* (F) = good ! —Sin. *ovu*.
 189 No—*navati* (G 2), *namati* (F)—Sin. *nā*.
- IX. Verbs.**
- 190 Make, do, construct—*teri-karanavā*. The carpenter made the table = *vaḍu-kattiyā angē teri-kāruvā* (Rw), where *kāruvā* is clearly a grammatical blunder of my informant (on the analogy of *maranavā* : *māruvā*).—Sin. *karanavā*, *hadanavā*.
 191 Be, exist—*yāpenavā*. Used just like the Sin. *tibenavā*, *tiyenavā*. The word belongs to the ancient language : *yāpenavā* "to live, to exist" (not given in Clough) *yapīma*, *yapena*, "existence, subsistence, livelihood."
 192 Go—*tāvinnenavā*, imp. *tāviniyan*. prt. *tāvununā*. (F) has *tāvillenavā* "so walk." Change between *n* and *l*. The verb may, therefore, be derived from the Sin. *tāvilla* and signify approximately "to grow, warm, heated." F has *dissenavā* for "to go"—Sin. *yanavā*.
 193 Run—*hissāren tāvinnenavā* ; *hissāren tāviniyan* "hurry up" = Sin. *sāren palayan*. *Hissāren* (so I believe I have heard) is "arrow quick" = Sin. *hī* + *s*.—Sin. *duvanavā*.
 194 Come—*tāvinnenavā*. *Koyī galuven-da tāvinnenavā* = "Whence do you come" ? (s. No. 184)—Sin. *kotanin umba enavāda* ?
 195 Sit—*yāpenavā*. No. 191.—Sin. *indinavā*.
 196 Stand—*yapīla-yāpenavā*.—Sin. *hiṭṭinavā*.
 197 Sleep—*lāvaṭa-teri-venavā* ; according to G 2 *lāvaṭa pānavā*, according to F *lāvaṭa nātvenavā*. *Teri-komaṭa lāvaṭa-teri-veyan* "sleep well" = Sin. *hoṇḍata nidaganin*. *Lāvata-teri-venavā* is to have the eyes closed, cf. *teri-karanavā* "close" in No. 129. *Pānavā* in Sin. *pahanavā*, "to weld, fasten together" = to close. *Nāt* may stand for *navat*, cf. Sin. *navatenavā*, "to stop"—Sin. *nidā-gannavā*.
 198 Fall—*hāpa-venavā*, i.e. to become small.—Sin. *vāṭenavā*.
 199 Dance—*kūtāḍu-karanavā* ; according to F *kuttaḍu-pānavā*.—Sin. *naṭanavā*.
 200 Give—*yappanavā*, causitive of *yapanavā*, from *yapvanavā*.—Sin. *denavā*.
 201 Bring—*gena-yappanavā* ; according to F *anna-tāvinnenavā*. *Mayē pota maṭa gena-yappāpaṇ* "bring me my book."—Sin. *maṭa magē pota genen* (*aragana-varen*).
 202 Take away — *yappāgena-tāvinnenavā*, i.e., having taken, go away = (Sin. *geṇa-yanavā*). According to F *anna-dissanavā*.
 203 Catch—*dāgulu-gahanavā* ; for example, "to catch fish, to fish" = *nilāṭu dāgulu-gahanavā* (F). Cf. No. 75 and 111.—Sin. *allanavā*.
 204 Send—*yappanavā*, or by a circumlocution *yappalā-tāvinnenavā*.—Sin. *yavanavā*.
 205 Live—*yāpenavā* = No. 195.—Sin. *hiṭṭinavā*.
 206 Die—*likkenavā*, part. *likkunā*, Intr. of following.—Sin. *mārenavā*.
 207 Kill—*lukkanavā*, part *likkuvā*, a word of many meanings. Cf. No. 222-224.—Sin. *maranavā*.
 208 Bury—*bintalavuvē hāpa-karanavā* (G 2), *tāvanavā* (F).—Sin. *vaḷa-lanavā*.
 209 See, look—*pekanavā*, an old word—Sans. *īkṣ*. + *pra*, Pali *pekkhati*—Sin. *dakinavā*, *balanavā*.
 210 Point out, show, exhibit—*pekavanavā*.—Sin. *penvanavā*, *dakvanavā*.
 211 Hear—*igillanavā*. Cf. No. 216. Since in Sin. *ahanavā* has the signification "hear" and "ask," so also its equivalent in Roḍiyā is used in this double sense. *Hāpa-galuvak pūrē igillanavā* = "I hear a dispute (bad noise) in the road." *Mahātmayā igillanavā*, *Gāḍiyā kiyaṇṭ ṇā* "What you ask me, I must answer" (= the gentleman asks, the

- Rodiyā must answer). Cf. Sin. illanavā.
—Sin. ahanavā.
- 212 Smell—(*imbinavā*) = Sin. ;
- 213 Kiss—*hūci-karanavā* of onomatopœic formation.—Sin. as 212.
- 214 Speak, say—*galu-karanavā* (=make a sound.—Sin. katā-karanavā.
- 215 Cry—*iravuva-lukkanavā* (G 2)=to rend the ear. F. has *iraval* (better *iravuvā*) *lukkanavā* for "cry, complain."—Sin. kā-gahanavā, mora-gahanavā.
- 216 Ask—*igillanavā*. See under No. 211. The word signifies also "call," according to (G 2) and "relate" according to F.—Sin. ahanavā.
- 217 Write—*teri-karanavā* (with an objective, as *rabotaya* "a page, a letter").—Sin. liyanavā.
- 218 Read—*akuru-kiyanavā*.—Sin. kiyanavā.
- 219 Understand—*teri-venavā*. *Umbalā teri-unā-da*, "Have you understood" ?—Sin. tērun-gannavā.
220. Laugh—*galu pāhinavā* (G 2).—Sin. hinahavenavā.
- 221 Sing—*kāllāni igillanavā* (F) = to call, relate, in a beautiful and lovely manner. The Sin. river name Kālāniya = "the agreeable, charming." The Rodiyā has retained the original signification (Sans. *kalyāṇa*, Pali *kalyāṇa*, *kallāṇa*) which the Sin. has lost.—Sin. gītikā karanavā.
- 222 Beat — *lukkanavā*. *Mama būsāṭa likkuvā* = I beat the dog = Sin. mama ballāṭa gāsuvāya. *Uhālla lukkāpan* "beat the drum." = Sin. bera gasāpan.
- 223 Break—*lukkanavā*, also = to break into. *Kaluvāllē dumana lukkan-ṭa ṇā*, "at night one must break into the house" (G 2) a genuine Rodiyā sentence! *Lukkanavā* also signifies "fight, quarrel, dig."—Sin. kaṣanavā.
- 224 Cut—*nāḍuven lukkanavā* (F). Cf. No. 166.—Sin. kapanavā.
- 225 Rend, tear,—*hāpa-karanavā* (F).—Sin. iranavā.
- 226 Cook—*murutīn teri-karanavā*, *miḡiti terikaranavā* "to prepare food (rice)." G. gives *navat-karanavā* as does F. According to Rw the expression has an obscene meaning.—Sin. uyanavā.
- 227 Eat—*miganavā*; *nilāṭu-miganavā* "drink"—Sin. kanavā.
- 228 Bite—*miganavā*.—Sin. hapākanavā.
- 229 Buy—*galaṭu-vālaṭa-yappagannavā*. Cf. Nos. 163, 164.—Sin. milāṭa gannavā.
- 230 Sell — *galaṭu-vālaṭa-yappanavū*. — Sin. vikupanavā.

B. LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS.

The vocabulary of the Rodiyā tongue is clearly divisible into four different groups. The first group comprises the real foreign element in the language, a number of words whose etymology it does not appear possible to fix at present. Then follow in a second and a third group such words as have descended from an older linguistic period, or which have assumed a special signification in Rodiyā, and those which may be characterised as mere corruptions and Bowdlerizations of Sinhalese words. Finally the fourth and most numerous

group, comprises the new formation made by combination.

1. To the foreign element in Rodiyā I would reckon above all the following words :—
52 *būsā*, "dog," 94 *bālāvā*, "monkey," 83 *buhāka*, "cat," 84 *lūddā*, "ox," 95 *iliyā*, "snakē," 99 *pēlāva*, "tortoise," 81 *palānuva*, "elephant," 57 *murutayan*, "flesh," 113 *rabota*, "leaf," 154 *maṭubu*, "oil," 158 *hurubu*, "salt," 124c *miḡiṭi*, "rice," 5 *kōna*, "year," 6 *girāva*, "day," 24 *gāvā*, "man, human being," 40 *Gāḍiyā* more respectful term for Rodiyās, 163 *galaṭu*—"money," 166

nāḍuva, "knife," 62 *kerāḍiya*, "head," 222 *lukkanavā*, "beat," and others. Some words can be understood at least in part thus, for example, in 12 *nilāṭu*, "water," may be contained the adjective *nil*, "blue," in 18 *aharabulu*, "lime," the Sin. *ahara*, "food" as naturally the lime which is chewed with the betel (*bulat*) and arecanut is meant. 65 *lāvaṭē*, "eye," seems to be connected with *vaṭa*, "circle"; *murutayan* reminds one strongly of the Sin. *muḷutān*, "kitchen," but the original signification of this is the "place where there is *muḷu*, i.e., the cooked rice." I hope that in time a few of the other words in the above list will yet receive a satisfactory explanation.

The origin of the foreign element is obscure. I communicated a list of words to Herr Dr. G. Oppert, and inquired whether they might be of Dravidian descent. The answer was in the negative. I succeeded just as badly in discovering any relationship to the Vāddā language, of which I have my own collection (of words). It seems to me more likely that we have before us artificially formed words, whose origin and formation evade our understandings. But as the possibility that these words have been borrowed from another language yet remains, I designate this part of the Roḍiyā vocabulary as the foreign element.

I have found a very pretty example of the way in which these new formations come into being in the Roḍiyā. The word for "lizard" is *aharabuluvā* (98). How can this be explained? Clearly thus. In Sin. the lizard is called *hūnā*, vulgar etymology derived this from *hūṇu*, "lime." Consequently from the Roḍiyā word for lime, *aharabulu*, the word *aharabuluvā* was created! In a similar fashion the word *murutayan*, "fish" (111) can be explained. The original signification of the word is "flesh." But as in the Sinhalese word *mas* the words for "flesh" (Sans. *māmsa*) and for fish (Sans. *matsya*) have been united, so *murutayan* had also to receive both meanings.

2. Of old words in the language, the interesting verb *pekanavā* (209) "to see" must be named first of all, and then *yāpenavā* (191). *Teri* (182) "large, good," and *kālāni* (s. under No. 221) "dear, lovely" have retained older meanings. The following words are used with a special meaning *uhālla* (112) "tree"—Sin. *uhallā*, "a tall man," *hāpa* (183) "small, little, bad"—Sin. *hapa* "refuse, sweeping." So *atu* and *madu*, rice—Sin. *āṭaya* and *madaya*, "grain." *Tabala*, "betel" (126) is also an old word.

3. I consider the following to be mere corruptions of Sinhalese words:—*latu* (180) "red" = Sin. *ratu*, *kaluvāli* (10) "dark"—Sin. *kaḷuvara* with a contemporary and popular etymological connection with *vāli*, "sand," *atu* "rice" (s. above) Many difficulties will perhaps be resolved simply by the assumption of a purely arbitrary distortion. This is the more likely as plays upon words, such as the transposition and interpolation of sounds is greatly favoured among the Sinhalese. Thus contraction of syllables also occurs not infrequently in Roḍiyā: *pūnavā* (197) = Sin. *pahanavā*, *mīri* (150) = Sin. *mihiri* (*mīriya*), *nāt* (197) = Sin. *navat*. So also the quantitative and qualitative change of vowels: *hāpa* (183) = Sin. *hapa*, *navatā* (37) = Sin. *nuvaṭa*. Lastly, I might point out a few Roḍiyā words which apparently are diminutives or the like: *matilla*, *-ili*, (116) "branch, stick" = Sin. *matu*, *hidulu* (155) "milk" related to Sin. *hudu*, *patili*-*ya* (105) "bird," related to Sansc. *patrin*.

4. I come lastly to the new formations, especially those made by combination. They are of special interest to us, for they, I think, permit of the Roḍiyā becoming known as what it is, an artificially made language, a kind of slang or thieves' Latin. The intention to make what is spoken unintelligible to those who stand outside the community will be accomplished even without the intermingling of foreign expressions, when the thing to which one wishes to refer, is not mentioned by name, but by a circum-

locution. I daresay that this is also assisted by gestures.

That the adjectives *teri* (182) and *hāpa* with their manifold significations, and likewise the substantive *aṅgaya* (24) "person, being" and *aṅē* "body, thing" play, in combination, a special part has already been mentioned incidentally (see under No. 3). Thus *teri-boraluva*="greatstone," can be used for "mountain," and *teri-boralu*="good stones" for pearls (Nos. 16 and 160); *īlayat-teri-aṅē* "the great thing above" is the sun; *īlayat-teri-gāvā*, "the great man above" is the Governor (Nos. 4 and 35); *teri-galaṭu*, gold and silver coins, and *hāpa-galaṭu*, copper money (Nos. 163 and 164) are simply "sound money" and "refuse money."

Of interest as new formations of this kind are the names of animals Nos. 87-93 and especially 96. The realm of humour is touched upon when the gun (172) is designated a "noise stick," so in the word for sailor (51). In like manner in German slang the miller is jocularly called "Klapper-Isch" and the smith "Flammert" just as the Roḍiyā calls him "fireman" (44). (Avé-Lallemant, *Das deutsche Gaunerthum*, 4, pp. 540 and 559). In general, German slang in its new formations, as also in the coining of words of peculiar significance, offers many analogies to Roḍiyā.

I have finally only to show briefly that grammatically the Roḍiyā in no wise differs from Sinhalese as regards word-formation. I would refer especially to the formation of personal names by an added *ā*. The word *dulumavā* so frequently referred to is derived from *dulumu* precisely as the Sinhalese *vaḍuvā*, "carpenter," from *vaḍu*. In the same way the forming of the feminine in *ī* from the masculine in *ā* coincides with the Sinhalese method even in the case of words that belong to the foreign element. Cf. *lūddā*, *liddī*, "ox, cow," (84) *būssā*, *bīssī*, "dog, bitch" (82) with the Sin. *kukulā*, "cock," *kikilī*, "hen," or *ukuṇā*, *ikiṇī*, "louse," masc. and fem.

As regards Substantives, we notice the same plural forms as in Sinhalese, thus *boraluva*, pl. *boralu* (16, 17) is formed like Sin. *kaṭuva*, "thorn," pl. *kaṭu*; *matilla*, "branch, stem," pl. *matili*, "banyan, bamboo" (116, 122, 123) like Sin. *pātta*, "side" pl. *pāti* (Childers, JRAR, N. S. VII, 1874/75, p. 46); *dumana* "house," pl. *duman* (128, 131) like Sin. *kada*, "yoke," pl. *kat*; *diga*, "region," pl. *dik* or *dig*; *aṅga*, "horn," pl. *an*. As regards declination, I would refer to the sentences at the end of this work, in which all the more important forms will be found.

Numerals in Roḍiyā agree entirely with the Sinhalese. After the numerals it is the custom to place the word *girāva* with persons as well as with things. This signifies "day, time, number, piece." In its application this corresponds to the Sin. *denek* with persons. "two trees, 3 trees," is in Roḍiyā *uhālla de-girāvayī*, *uhālla tun-girāvayī*. Before *girāva* the numeral appears in the shorter form. Thus one says *uhālla visi-girāvayī*, "twenty trees," *uhālla tis-girāvayī* "thirty trees," not *vissa*, *tiha*.

The same agreement will be seen among verbs. I select for this verbs that belong to the special inventory of the Roḍiyā. The causative of *pekanavā*, "see" (209) is *pekanavanavā* "show, point out," as in Sinhalese *vasavanavā* from *vasanavā*, "dwell." The intransitive of *lukkanavā*, "kill" (207) is *likkenavā*, "die" (206), like Sinhalese *māreṇavā* from *marāṇavā*; with a similar significance. *pireṇavā* "to be full," from *puraṇavā*, "fill." The preterite of *lukkanavā* is *likkuvā*, like Sin. *issuvā* from *ussanavā*, "raise up." Everything else is shown in the following verb-paradigms.

I. Present: I eat rice today.

Sin. Sing. 1.	ada	mama	bat	} ka avā
2.	..	umba	..	
3.	..	ū	..	
Pl. 1.	..	api	..	
2.	..	umbalā	..	
3.	..	ovhu (un)	..	

Rod. Sing. 1.	ada davasa mama migiti	} migāṇavā
2.	„ umba „	
3.	„ ū „	
Pl. 1.	„ api „	
2.	„ umbalā „	
3.	„ un „	

II. Preterite : I ate rice yesterday.

Sin. Sing. 1.	iyē mama bat	} kāvā
2.	„ umba „	
3.	„ ū „	
Pl. 1.	„ api „	
2.	„ umbalā „	
3.	„ ovhu (un) „	

Rod. Sing. 1.	iyē davasa mama migiti	} miguvā
2.	„ umba „	
3.	„ ū „	
Pl. 1.	„ api „	
2.	„ umbalā „	
3.	„ un „	

III. Future, I will eat rice tomorrow.

Sin. Sing. 1.	heṭa mama bat	kaññā
2.	„ umba „	} kāvī or
3.	„ ū „	
Pl. 1.	„ api „	kaññāmu
2.	„ umbalā „	} kāvī or
3.	„ ovhu(un) „	

R. S. 1.	heṭa davasa mama migiti	migaññan
2.	„ umba „	} migāyī or
3.	„ ū „	
Pl. 1.	„ api „	migaññāmu
2.	„ umbalā „	} migāyī or
3.	„ un „	

Sentences.

1. A fruit falls (fell) from a tree.
Sin. gāḍiyak gahin vätenavā (vātunā).
Rod. lāvunak uhāllen hāpa-venavā(hāpa-unā)
2. The boy ran and fell down.
Sin. lamayā duvanakoṭa² vātunāya.
Rod. bilāṇḍā tāvinnenakoṭa hāpa-unā.
3. This tree has long branches.
Sin. me gaha-ṭa dik atu tibenavā.
Rod. me uhālla-ṭa teri-matilla yāpenavā.
4. This tree is taller than that tree.
Sin. me gaha ara gaha-ṭa vaḍā lokuyi.
Rod. me uhālle ara uhālla-ṭa vaḍā teriyi.
5. Do you see a ship sailing on the sea ?
Sin. umba muhudē nāvak yanavā dakinavā-da?
Rod. umba nilāṭuvē angeyak tāvinnenavā
peka-gena-yāpenavā-da ?³
6. I have written a letter to you (asking you) to come here.
Sin. inama umba-ṭa me stānē-ṭa en-ṭa livumak
āriyā.
Rod. mama umba-ṭa me dumana-ṭa
tāvinnen-ṭa rabotayak yappalā-
tāvununā.
7. Do not beat the dog.
Sin. ballā-ṭa gahan-ṭa āpā !
Rod. būsā-ṭa lukkan-ṭa navati !
8. What is the name of the father ?
Sin. umbē piyā-gē nama mokada ?
Rod. umbē tāta-gē nama mokada ?
9. How many children have you ? I have three children.
Sin. umba-ṭa lamayi ki-denek tibenavā-da ?—
ma-ṭa lamayi tun-denek tibenavā.
Rod. umba-ṭa bilāṇḍō kī-girāva-da?—Gāḍi-
yā-ṭa bilāṇḍō tun-girāva yāpenavā.

1. The form *miganavā-ūti* may also probably be found.2. A. Gunasekera *Sinhalese Grammar*, p 189=Engli h, whilst (when) running.3. This form of expression is not irregular, but is more detailed. It would correspond exactly with Sin. *dāka-goba iṇḍinavā-da*.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BOTANIC GARDENS IN CEYLON

WITH NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF COLOMBO.

By T. PETCH.

IN WILLIS, *The Royal Botanic Gardens of Ceylon and their History* (Ann. Perad., I, pp. 1-15) we read "The Dutch had a garden in Slave Island, Colombo, but after the English conquest this was neglected and sold by the Government. The first English Governor, the Hon. F. North (afterwards Lord Guilford), had a small private garden at Peliyagoda, near Colombo, under the superintendence of Joseph Jonville or Joinville, whom he brought out as "Clerk for Natural History and Agriculture."

Willis's information was evidently derived from Trimen's *Hand Guide to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Peradeniya*, the first edition of which was published in 1883, Trimen wrote :—

"Peradeniya, however, was not the first botanic garden in Ceylon. The Dutch possessed one in Slave Island, which indeed took its name from the Company's slaves who worked and lived in it. This was neglected by the British and subsequently sold in lots; but the first English Governor, the Hon. Fred. North (afterwards Lord Guilford), possessed a garden attached to his villa at Peliyagoda, on the Kelani, near Colombo, and made some attempt to give it a botanical character by appointing (in 1799) one Joseph Jonville as superintendent." In a footnote, Trimen added "Jonville was taken out to Ceylon by North as 'Clerk for Natural History and Agriculture' at £250 per annum."

On turning to Tennent, however, we find (Ed. 5, vol. II, p. 209), "The first Botanic Garden in Ceylon was established by Mr. North in 1799 at Ortofula on the banks of the Kalany at Colombo, and M. Joinville¹ was named its Curator."

The source of Trimen's information is uncertain. He probably obtained it from an article on the Botanic Gardens by W. Ferguson which was published in the "Ceylon Observer" in 1854 (*vide* Ferguson). Trimen had a copy of that article, but it is not now among his papers at Peradeniya. I have not been able to verify this supposition.

Orta fula reappears in *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*, where, on page 153, there are the following notes which may have some bearing on the subject :—

"The name of van der Meyden's Polder still remains in the heart of Grandpass, to recall the fact that it was in Dutch times a model farm [But when was "polder" a farm? T.P.]. Evidence of other agricultural experiments in this part of the town is to be found in the name of the village Sedawatte, which was the Orta Seda, or silk garden, where experiments were made with silk worms introduced from Japan by the Portuguese. There was also an experimental station in Grandpass, close to the banks of the river, known as Orta fula, which became Malwatta, the flower garden."

1. His name was apparently Jonville, but he published a paper *On the religion and manners of the people of Ceylon* in *Asiatic Researches*, VII, pp. 307-444, and in a covering letter North styles him Joinville, the paper being published in that name.

Contemporary Evidence in the Dutch Period.

For information concerning the state of botanical science in Ceylon, shortly before the English occupation, we may turn to Thunberg's Travels. Thunberg, who was an eminent botanist, visited South Africa, Ceylon, Java, and Japan, and made large collections of plants. He arrived in Ceylon in July, 1777, and left in February, 1778, having travelled along the coast, and collected plants, from Negombo to Matara. Thunberg mentions the Company's gardens at the Cape, but he does not refer to anything of the kind in Ceylon. The only garden he found worthy of mention in Ceylon was a private garden belonging to Governor Falck. His account of that (from the English edition of his Travels) is as follows :—

"I visited, out of the town, the Governor's villa, which is called *Pass*, and consists of an elegant house, and a large pleasure-garden, in which Cinnamon has been planted for several years back. The cinnamon tree grows in abundance in the woods, and has been propagated without the adventitious aid of art. The Europeans have believed, and the Cingalese even maintained, that Cinnamon, to be good, must always grow wild, and be left to itself, and that, when planted, it neither thrives nor continues to be genuine. This prejudice prevailed till the end of the sixteenth² century, when the Governor, Yman Wilhelm Falck, first made the attempt, in small, to rear Cinnamon trees by art, in this garden at *Pass*. The berries were then sown, which grew up well and quickly, but had the untoward fate, that the plants some time after withered and died. On accurately investigating the cause of this, it appeared, that a Ceylonese who earned his livelihood by bark-ing Cinnamon in the woods, and saw with vexation the planting of it, which, in time, would render the gathering of it more easy and convenient, had secretly besprinkled

them in the night with warm water. After the discovery of this stratagem, the Governor caused again, in the beginning of the seven-teenth² century, several berries to be planted, and in several places, both on a small and arge scale, which grew up, throve well, and, had already yielded several crops of Cinna-mon. Thus several thousand Cinnamon trees were now seen in this garden, and in this garden alone, to thrive and turn out to be of a good sort.

"In it also I saw an Areca tree, which was very tall, but uncommonly slender, and at the same time, which is very singular, divided into two branches, each furnished with its respective crown.

"Here is seen likewise a *Borassus*, or Sea-Cocoa, brought from the Maldiv Islands, which had been set in earth, had grown up, and was now in the third year of its growth, having only three leaves. The nut had lain eight months in the ground, before it put forth the first leaf. The leaf was multipartito-pinnatifidum: pinnis bipartitis."

From Thunberg's omission of any reference to a Botanic Garden in his somewhat extended account of the Ceylon flora, it would appear that no such institution was in existence at the time of his visit (1777). The idea that the Dutch had a Botanic Garden on Slave Island would seem to have been based on a misinterpretation of the statements of the earlier British writers on Ceylon.

Percival (Ed. 2, p. 121) states, concerning Slave Island.—"It is a remarkably pleasant spot. A battalion of Malays is stationed here. There is also an excellent house built by the Dutch, which they employed as a mason's lodge, with a very pretty garden attached to it."

Cordiner (p. 37) wrote of "A rugged peninsula commonly called Slave Island. The English on their arrival made it a station for the Malay regiment. It contains a mud

2. Probably an error of translation for the sixth and seventh decades of the century.

village, a bazaar, or market stalls, an excellent parade, and two gentlemen's villas. One of these is built on a spit of land projecting at right angles from the body of the peninsula and fronting the fort. It is a neat house of two stories, which was erected by the Dutch as a freemason's lodge, but has now become the property of a private person."

Gardens in Early British Times.

Governor North brought out Joseph Jonville as "Clerk for Natural History and Agriculture." Jonville was naturalist, artist, philologist, and student of comparative religion, and at various times held the posts of Surveyor-General, Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations, and Commissioner Extraordinary in the Province of the Seven Corles. His multifarious duties and lengthy absences from Colombo during his seven years' residence in Ceylon could not have left much time for the inauguration and management of a Botanic Garden, but it is natural to assume that if a Botanic Garden was instituted, he would have charge of it.

Trimen's version (*supra*) is that North had a garden attached to his villa at Peliyagoda, on the banks of the Kelani, and appointed Joseph Jonville, superintendent. But the "villa," according to Cordiner, was a temporary bungalow, roofed with cadjans (Lewis), and Cordiner does not mention a garden. Peliyagoda, or Pilligory, as Cordiner calls it, is on the north bank of the river, a little above Grandpass, an inaccessible locality for a Botanic Garden. There does not appear to be any record that North had a country residence.

Tennent makes Jonville the Curator of a Botanic Garden, established by North in 1799 on the banks of the Kelani, at Orta fula.

Leaving Jonville for the moment, it is to be noted that General Macdowall interested himself in horticulture, and occupied a house built by the last Dutch Governor, Angelbeck,

It would appear that the idea that the Dutch had a Botanic Garden on Slave Island was based on Percival's statement that there was a very pretty garden attached to the freemason's lodge which stood on what is now known as Kew Point. But there is no evidence that that garden was other than the usual bungalow garden.

at Grandpass, where he made a valuable collection of exotics, and had an acre and a half of land planted with trees and shrubs 'ranged at proper distances.' Cordiner gives a list of some of the foreign fruit trees introduced, and Giffard, in a paper contributed to the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society in 1821, referred to peach trees raised by General Macdowall at Grandpass, which apparently were still in existence at that date. Cordiner relates that General Macdowall received consignments of trees and shrubs from the Calcutta Botanic Gardens by nearly every ship, a somewhat peculiar circumstance, if a Government Botanic Garden existed at the time.

To return to Jonville,--Lewis (*Ceylon in Early British Times*, p. 4) states that Mr. Gavin Hamilton had a house situated "near the sea, above the Mutwal road, and adjoining to the Government Gardens of Tankey Salgado." The description of the property is, I believe, taken from an advertisement in the "Government Gazette." Another advertisement, in the "Government Gazette" of 27th June, 1810, offers for sale, "two gardens and the buildings constructed thereon situated at Tankey Salgado, opposite to the garden of H. A. Marshall, Esqr., lately the property of Mr. Jonvill."

We have, therefore, as recorded sites of Botanic Gardens, or private gardens of that character, in the era 1799-1804 :—

- (1) Governor North's bungalow at Peliyagoda on the further side of the Kelani.
- (2) Orta fula, on the bank of the Kelani-

(3) Governor Angelbeck's house at Grandpass, occupied as a country residence by General Macdowall.

(4) A site in Tanque Salgado, near, or identical with, the property owned by Jonville.

The first of the above records is probably an erroneous deduction from the fact that North had a temporary bungalow in the country. The account of Colombo in the Census of 1911 would appear to identify Orta fula with Angelbeck's bungalow at Grandpass, but, as it is known that General Macdowall was responsible for the garden there, this again would seem doubtful. Of the site at Tanque Salgado, nothing seems to be known, except the references in the advertisement in the "Government Gazette."

The Identification of the Sites.

It would be of interest to know the exact site of Orta fula, Governor Angelbeck's bungalow, Jonville's property at Tanque Salgado, and Governor Falck's bungalow and garden which Thunberg somewhat provokingly says was called Pass. There is a possibility that these are not all different sites. If Falck's garden had survived until 1799, one might surmise that it would have been selected by Jonville as his Botanic Garden. At present this all conjectural, as it does not appear to be possible to arrive at any conclusion from contemporary records. But it should surely be possible, from documents, e.g. title deeds, etc., to determine the situation of Falck's and Angelbeck's country houses.

Cordiner, certainly, is most precise concerning the site of Angelbeck's bungalow. "At the Grand Pass stands a country seat built by the late Dutch Governor van Angelbeck. Besides a row of offices and a handsome farmyard, there are two houses of one floor each for the accommodation of the family. These lie parallel to one another, and it is necessary to pass through the first

to get to the second, which is raised on an embankment of the river. The stream is seen gliding along from the windows. The situation is pleasant, but low and flat, and the grounds about it are swampy, being employed in the cultivation of rice. From this part of the river a navigable canal is cut."

Giffard's reference to the peach trees planted by Macdowall at Grand Pass would seem to confirm Cordiner. Yet one can only wonder why Angelbeck should build a bungalow in such a locality, and how Macdowall found there an acre and a half of land suitable for the growth of fruit trees. Cordiner does, indeed, comment on the unsuitability of the site.

Grand Pass.

Writers who have had to deal with the early topography of the Colombo district in the neighbourhood of the Kelani have usually taken the position of Grand Pass for granted, and, from that datum point, have mapped out the country. It would seem, however, that there is room for the converse method, i.e. to make use of the known position of some other object, or locality, to fix the position of Grand Pass. For example, it is recorded that Angelbeck's bungalow was at Grand Pass, and the position of Grand Pass at the present day being known, that of Angelbeck's bungalow is consequently decided. But if the site of Angelbeck's bungalow could be determined, from boundary descriptions in a title deed, or otherwise, the data could be used to fix the position of Grand Pass. This is not quite a work of supererogation, for it is by no means clear from contemporary evidence that the Grand Pass of 1799 was in the same position as the Grand Pass of 1919.

In Cordiner's time, the main road from Colombo to Negombo ran northwards to Pas Betal and continued straight on on the other side of the river. It ran close to the sea near Colombo, its former course being now inter-

rupted by the Graving Dock. About this point it divided, the Eastern branch being the straight-cut Alutmawata Road, the two branches uniting again before reaching the ferry. Cordiner calls this road the North Road. On the opposite bank of the river, there was apparently no road from the Negombo road to the present site of Grand Pass.

Cordiner travelled from Negombo to Colombo in 1800. He wrote (I, p. 346), "Nine miles from Jaelle and three miles from Columbo we crossed the Kalany Ganga, a broad, deep, and rapid river. *The ferry is called the grand pass*; and the boat which conveyed us over had a spacious deck, of dimensions sufficient to carry a coach and four horses without being unyoked. All the way from this ferry to the fort of Colombo, the road is lined on each side with excellent houses."

In vol. I, p. 48, Cordiner states, "The (North) road runs in many places close to the seashore, and proceeds about four miles, when it is interrupted by the Calany Ganga, at that place called the Mutwal River. Here is a ferry and excellent boats with capacious decks, into which a one-horse carriage is often driven." Continuing his narrative, he adds (p. 49) "a third (road) terminates at *the grand pass*. *This is the name given to another ferry on the Calany Ganga, about two miles further up the river than the one formerly mentioned*. A fine road runs from it a mile across the country, through a valley of paddee fields and over two wooded hills, after which it joins the North Road at right angles."

Thus the situation of Grand Pass in Cordiner's account of the environs of Colombo differs from that in the diary of his tour round the Island.

Percival's map shows three roads radiating from the Pettah. The most westerly one,

the North Road, is marked, *Road to the Grand Pass*," the middle one, "Road to the Petit Pass," and the eastern one, "Road to Kinman's Gardens."

The map in Col. Welsh's *Military Reminiscences* (1830) shows Angelbeck's house at the present Grand Pass, but the name Grand Pass is placed on the Negombo side of the river, nearer the mouth, and no particular point is marked. The point at which the road from Negombo meets the river is marked Pas Pittal. His text states, "advancing at daylight we crossed *the great ferry called Grand Pass*." His map marks all the advance across the ferry at Pas Betal and along the North Road.

In Mr. L. J. B. Turner's valuable paper on The British occupation of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon (*Ceylon Antiquary*, III, pp. 237-257), he quotes that "Captain Winkelmann of the Wurtemberg Regiment withdrew to Grandpass with a strong detachment having established a post on a large rock near the mouth of the river." His map shows Grand Pass in its present situation, while the rock in question was apparently in the Mutwal reach. To one ignorant of military affairs, it would seem a curious proceeding to establish a post in that position, where it would inevitably be cut off from his main body by an advance of the British across the river at Pas Betal. It may be noted that Cordiner distinctly states that the road shown by Mr. Turner between points 1 and 7 only ran for a quarter of a mile, though he shows it complete in his map.

The evidence of Percival and Welsh, and Cordiner's earlier account, indicate that the Grand Pass Road was the North Road, i.e. the main road to Negombo. In Cordiner's narrative, apparently written later, he transfers the name Grand Pass from the old Negombo ferry to its present position.

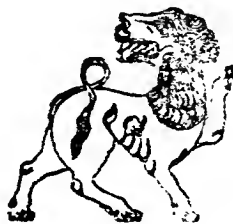
What is the origin of the name Grand Pass? That it was applied to the ferry

would seem doubtful ; the ferry was Pas Betal. In contrast to Grand Pass, there is Small Pass, which appears to have originally terminated at Hultsdorf, or shortly beyond. May not Grand Pass be the long road, and Small Pass, the short road ?

In that case, Grand Pass would mean the whole length of the road from Colombo to the ferry at Pas Betal, and the sites of the gardens which were said to be at Pass, or Grand Pass, might be anywhere along that

road, which was a favourite locality for country residences.

Again, Grand is not Dutch or Portuguese, but French ; and Percival calls Small Pass, Petit Pass. Pas Betal is said to be Dutch, —Pas betal en, the pass at which you pay. But was there ever a ferry at which you did not pay ? Is not Betal also French, betail, and Pas Betal, the cattle ferry. or in English the horse ferry ? And if so, why are all these names French ?



THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. V, Part II, Page 87).

The Downfall of the Portuguese.

THE disaster of Randeniwela was the first step in the downfall of the Portuguese, and the disturbances which followed that rout of the Portuguese army worked the ruin of the Jesuit Mission. The churches were laid low, the missionaries were driven to seek shelter in Colombo, and the new Christians remained uncared for. That was a blow from which the mission was not destined to recover. The Jesuits had daring and enterprise enough to meet the situation, and their converts had not really fallen away, but the times were against them. The Portuguese were soon to reap what they had sown, and the harvest was as plentiful as it was bitter: but it was still ripening.

Meanwhile a treaty of peace between Senarat and the Portuguese was being arranged. The Jesuits were awaiting it with great eagerness, for peace was a necessary condition for their work. According to

Jesuit accounts two of their number, Father Pedrosa and the Rector of the College,²⁶⁰ were even commissioned by the King of Kandy to arrange the terms with the General. The negotiations lasted long, and the treaty was finally signed at Goa on 15th April, 1633. It enabled the Jesuits to begin once more the weary work of rebuilding and re-instructing.

This peace gave the Portuguese, were they only wise enough to take it, an opportunity of retrieving their losses and consolidating their power, though the death of Senarat in 1636 and the growing activity of the Hollanders boded ill for them. Senarat was succeeded on the throne of Kandy by his gifted son Rája Sinha. His mother had been a Christian,²⁶¹ and one of his brothers subsequently embraced the Christian faith.²⁶² Rája Sinha himself had been brought up under Christian influence, and bred to Portuguese ways under Franciscan tutors.²⁶³ He was even well disposed to Christian Mission-

260. Father Pedrosa, who was captured at Randeniwela, was liberated and sent to Colombo with a letter for the purpose.

Cf. also Baldeus, ch. 17 *Churchill Collection of Voyages* III 628, where peace is said to have been made "by the mediation of certain clergymen." (I must take this opportunity to correct a misrepresentation of Baldeus. In *Ceylon Antiquary* iii, p. 121 a passage in which Baldeus speaks of the efficacy of his own instruction is mistaken to refer to the instruction imparted by the Jesuits. 'Refuting popish errors' (... wetende de Paapsche dwalingen ... met goede redenen tegen te spreken ...) is misunderstood to mean 'defending popish errors', though the meaning is clear enough in the context. Hence delete "And else where he says" P. 121, to a Calvinist divine and "p 122, line 2.

261. Dona Catherina.

262. Vijayapála left for Goa in 1641 and became a Christian. He died 1654. Queiroz says he saw him at Goa (Q. 638, 709, 17). The Portuguese Era II. p. 563 n. 9 translates a reference to him by the Jesuit Maracci.

Knox calls him in one place "Dama Polla Rodgerah, the youngest (son of Dona Catherina). King of Mautoly" folio 33; and elsewhere "the elder brother of this King that now is" (Raja Singha) fol. 84. The references here are to the pages of the original edition of Knox's Relation (London—at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1681).

263. Letter of Senarat to Philip III, apud Civezza *Storia Delle Missioni Francescane* vii, 180, Queiroz and Courtenay *Hist. du Christianisme a Ceylan* 469.

aries.²⁶⁴ These are circumstances which good statesmanship could have turned to good account, but the destinies of Portugal were in the hands of avaricious and muddle-headed Generals. In 1638, Diego de Mello de Castro threw all prudence to the winds and invaded Kandy. His countrymen rued the day he did so,²⁶⁵ for his cupidity landed them in a warfare which was to end in their complete and inglorious expulsion from Ceylon.

According to Ribeiro²⁶⁶ a paltry incident gave rise to the General's ire against Rája Sinha. A Portuguese tradesman presented the King with 'a box full of vials of rose water,' 'some white sandal wood, and a beautiful horse for the King's personal use.' For this act of courtesy Rája Sinha rewarded him, in princely fashion, with a handsome tusker. When it was brought to Colombo the General seized the animal on the plea that the King was in arrear for tribute, and the discomfited tradesman returned to Kandy to tell his tale. The King was much annoyed at the General's insolence,²⁶⁷ and gave the poor man precious stones to double the value of the tusker, and helped him to get out of the General's clutches. De Mello seems to have thought that his countrymen had bartered with the King. At

least he tried to drive a like bargain on his own account. He purchased two costly steeds and sent them to Kandy to be bartered for elephants. Rája Sinha seized the horses and sent word to the General that they were carefully tended in the royal stables to be returned when he had restituted the elephant. De Mello had no sense of humour and smarted for revenge. He knew that Rája Sinha was in correspondence with the Hollanders, and made ready to take the field.²⁶⁸

Though Rája Sinha had made overtures to the Dutch he was not at all anxious for hostilities just then. Accordingly a Franciscan Friar who was in Kandy²⁶⁹ was despatched to remind the General, crucifix in hand, that God would avenge any violation of the treaty of peace. But the General was in no humour to listen to a sermon. He thought that Rája Sinha was afraid of being forestalled. "The blackie is afraid, we will drag him by his ears"²⁷⁰ he repeated after his evil genius Botado. To carry out this threat the General raised all the forces he could and marched on Kandy with the newly arrived troops from Malacca. Two Jesuits accompanied this force as Military Chaplains.

Portuguese Routed at Balana.

De Mello had not learnt the lessons of history. He was bent on striking a blow before the King could league himself with the Dutch; but he did not calculate on the cost. No invasion of Kandy had ever done the Portuguese any good, and it was madness to attempt it without sufficient means. To face the hills and passes of the highlands was to court certain ruin. Rája Sinha still

tried to avoid war, and sent ambassadors to the General and to the Council of Colombo, but it was of no avail. "Man can not avert the fate decreed by God" is the comment of de Queyroz.

The army set out on 27th February, 1638, but before it reached Kandy the King despatched a third messenger, this time an Augustinian Friar, to adjure the General in

264. Q. 654.

265. In 1655 the Portuguese attributed all their misfortunes to this action of de Mello. Q. 778, 905.

266. *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão*, pelo Capitão João Ribeiro, pp 85-87. Translation, *Ribeiro's Ceilão* 231-234.

267. Rája Sinha bethought himself of this incident in 1655 when he made a similar present to Gaspar de Figueyra, and wrote (Q. 766) "I Rája Sinha Raju, Most Potent God, Imperador of Ceilao, do present to Gaspar Figueyra de Serpa, Capitao Mor of the Portuguese army, one large tusked elephant, with which he is at liberty, to do what he pleases without any impediment at the hands of the officers of the King of Portugal" I. E. ii. 394.

268. For Q's account of the outbreak of hostilities see *Conquista* 655.

269. One of the terms of the treaty of 1633 was "that a prelate of the order of St. Francis should be allowed to reside in Kandy to minister to the religious wants of any Christians who might be there" Danvers, *The Pat. in India*, ii, 246.

270. Botado had to eat his words at Gannoruwa for Antonio Vidal Riscado shot him for it on the field of battle. Q. 658.

the name of Christ to desist from the attack. It only emboldened the misguided General. He entered the Sinhalese capital unopposed, and burnt the town as his predecessors had done before him, and made for Balana the same day. Of all places in Ceylon Balana was the most fateful to the Portuguese, and Nemesis overtook him on the way. The thick shades of night fell before the troops, worn out by a day's work and harassed by the pursuing enemy, could cross the river, and De Mello decided to halt. Fighting went on during the night, and next morning, Palm Sunday, death stared the Portuguese in the face. They were surrounded by a resolute enemy. This brought the General to his senses, and he sent Mendoça and the priests to beg an armistice, but it was too late. The Lascorins deserted, the Portuguese fought with valour, but were cut to pieces. "On the day when the Church places palms in our hands the palm of victory fell to the enemy."

Among the killed was the Jesuit Chaplain Antonio Soeiro. Rája Sinha's sympathy for Catholic priests was well known to his troops²⁷¹ and Father Soeiro was taken alive; but the Kandyan general did not share the King's feelings towards the priests of an alien creed. "Why have you spared this arch-enemy of our religion?" he exclaimed, and the submissive soldiers mended their mistake.²⁷² The Father's head was added to the ghastly pile on Gannoruwa. Antonio Soeiro had long been a military chaplain. Born at Barba in the diocese of Evora, he entered the Society in 1601 and sailed out to India in the following year. He was at once appointed to the Ceylon mission where he spent his missionary career of 37 years, at first as Minister of the College and afterwards as Chaplain to the troops for 30 years. He was well versed in Sinhalese and had occasion to

see a good deal of warfare. In 1618 he accompanied Teixeira to Jaffna and was a witness of the barbarities of that warrior. In 1628 he was chaplain in the new garrison of Batticaloa.

Many stories are told of him and he is described as much given to prayer and penance. During his long career as Military Chaplain he chose to endure the privations of the common soldier in order to be more in touch with him. With no other *impedimenta* save his mat, which he carried under his arm, he marched on foot, often unshod, along with the rank and file, and lived on the rice of the *caldeiro* of the soldiers. The General had ordered an *andor* to be taken for him, but he gave it to a footsore or wounded soldier. He is said to have slept with his battered hat for a pillow. He was devoted to his men, and in time of disturbance he was able to visit and minister to the Christians who were beyond the reach of the other ordinary missionaries. But his principal care was for the soldiers. When the army pitched camp, he sought out a quiet spot, far from the officers' quarters, so as to be at the service of any soldier who needed his ghostly counsel. His serviceable hat stuck on a staff marked his lodging. Thus the soldiers came to have a high esteem of his holiness, and many a story was told of his piety. He was even reputed for a thaumaturgus, and the soldiers marched willingly to action when he was by. He was 61 years old at the time of his death.

According to a Jesuit writer Father Pedrosa was also captured at Gannoruwa. He was well known in Kandy and may have owed his life to that fact, and must have gained his liberty very soon, for he was present at the engagement at Ambalwella, under the new General. There he was wounded rather seriously, and was replaced by the Italian Siqueiros D'Abreu from Udugampola.

271. The *Parangí Hulane*: "De-destroying the hosts of Portugal, but sparing the Padres" Ribeiro's *Ceylao* p. 268.

272. *Relazione delle Missioni e Christianita che appartengono alla Provincia di Malabar della Compagnia di Gesu* scritta dal P. Francesco Baretto (Roma, 1645) pp. 101-3.

While these events were happening the Jesuit missionaries who were in the out-stations had perforce to leave their residences and repair to Colombo once more. Father Abreu alone was detained in Udugampola by the floods. There he prepared for death, as he afterwards wrote to the General of the Society, "thinking that they would cut off his head at any moment." Those who fled to Colombo were eating their hearts out with grief and dejection and found consolation in attending to the sick, the poor, and the dying. Besides the Jesuits, there came to Colombo the Religious of the various orders,

Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Capuchins and Recollects along with the secular Vigarios; and together they made up a good number; rather too many for the strained resources of the town. They were hard pressed for provisions and lived on siege rations, for the Hollanders were hovering about intercepting supplies. Every able bodied man was called upon to "do his bit" for the defence of the town, which was threatened with a seige. The Jesuits took their turn "mounting guard by night, and hearing confessions by day."

The Beginning of the End.

Rāja Sinha, it is true, did not press his victory, but he did worse. Losing all faith in the Portuguese he definitively made up his mind to league with the Hollanders for the overthrow of the Portuguese. This was the beginning of the end, which was already in the offing. When the Hollanders took Negombo things began to look very black indeed, and the missionaries realised that their flocks were as much against the Portuguese as the rest of their countrymen, for the Christians joined the heathen in destroying every vestige of the Portuguese occupation. In remote villages the Catholic church stood out as the emblem of the hated subjugation. In the eyes of the people Christianity was but the religion of the *Parangis* and the last hour of the *Parangis* seemed to have come.

Moreover, it was easy work to destroy defenceless churches, and it was galling to the missionaries to find that even the Christians did not disdain to raise their hand against the house of God. This was indeed a sad pass, but in their eyes it was by no means the worst. What was most painful to them was the ingratitude, as they thought it, of their converts, for whose welfare they had spent themselves. The Jesuits, alike with the other missionaries, seemed to have expected that,

in times of stress, such as the present, the Christians would throw in their lot with their pastors and co-religionists. In this they were soon disillusioned. The Christians were between two fires "and few and rare were those who came to live with Christians (Portuguese)."

This was very bitter to the missionaries, and if they could have foreseen the fate that was in store for the Christians who betook themselves to Colombo in 1655, no word of reproach, I fancy, would have passed their lips. As it was, under the bitterness of their disappointment, they expressed themselves very unfavourably on the national temperament of the Sinhalese. They thought them "time servers, who thought only of the present" "There is nothing in them but 'Hurrah' for the winning side." "The Sinhalese," wrote one, "even the Christians, are inconstant, treacherous, and ordinarily do not show great esteem for our holy faith, though seven of their number gave up their lives rather than forsake their religion."

This is a severe indictment, which may not be wholly undeserved, but after events showed that the Christians had no little esteem for their faith. The present events only show that they had no great esteem for the

Portuguese. Even Tennent, who does not disguise his contempt of the Portuguese and their converts, was forced to acknowledge the perseverance of the Christians under persecution. After describing the "fury against the church of Rome" which "at all times inspired the policy of the Dutch," Tennent writes: "Notwithstanding every persecution, however, the Roman Catholic religion retained its influence, and held good its position in Ceylon. It was openly professed by the immediate descendants of the Portuguese, and in private it was equally ad-

hered to by large bodies of the natives, both Sinhalese and Tamils, whom neither corruption nor coercion could induce to abjure it."²⁷³

It must be remarked, however, that these unfavourable pronouncements of the missionaries are few in number, and made incidentally at a time of disappointment. As a matter of fact they are as rare as references to Portuguese cruelties. Whatever the Jesuits thought of either of these topics, their letters touch upon them only when they bear on the progress of their work.

Father Pedrosa's Career.

By 1643 we find the Missionaries back in their Residences. Five priests and two Lay Brothers remained in Colombo, while the rest were dispersed throughout the country. There were two in Calpentyn and Putlam and one each in Chilaw, Madampe, Caimel, Vergampity, Udugampola, Morotuwa and Matigama. Matigama was the Residence of the Military Chaplain in time of peace. The priest in charge had to minister to the Christians attached to five churches and scattered about in an extensive district. Father Pedrosa was there till he was wounded. When he recovered he replaced Father Abreu, and was sent to Galle with the relieving force. There he was again wounded, captured and taken to Jacatara. When he returned from this captivity he was again sent to Matigama, where he was finally killed and beheaded by the Sinhalese on 8 August, 1643.

Father Pedrosa's career was a stirring one. He was not merely an experienced and conspicuous Military Chaplain, but was a general favourite with all ranks, from the King of Kandy down to the villager, and had been present at nearly all the historic battles of the period. He had been bred a soldier, and his soldierlike qualities were a great factor in his success. He was born in 1601

at Lavaos in Coimbra. Two of his brothers were Jesuits, and when one of them set out for the Indian mission the young soldier determined to follow him to India. The death of this priest-brother on the way to India affected him so much that he made up his mind to seek admittance into the Society. He was but 20 years old at the time, and after his noviceship he was sent to the College of Colombo for his studies. There he mastered Sinhalese; and in 1628 he was resigned for the work for which his past career had marked him out.

He was much respected by the Portuguese officers, and both pagans and Christians are said to have looked up to him as to a father. At Randeniwela his life was spared by a Kandyan soldier, and he was nursed of his wounds by order of the King of Kandy. Senarat treated the captive Jesuit with great kindness and even supplied him with money and clothing. He had seen many a ghastly sight in the warfare which, according to another Jesuit, turned this country into a pool of blood. But it was not on the field of battle that Father Pedrosa was killed. His ministrations led him through a hostile country. When the soldiers were in camp he stayed at Matigama and visited the camp

²⁷³, Tennent *Christianity in Ceylon* p. 42.

at stated times. On one of these occasions, he fell into the hands of a hostile band of Sinhalese who put an end to his missionary career at the age of 42. Just a week before his death he was in Colombo, having come up to the College for the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society. As the country was much disturbed, Father Pedrosa

knew the risk he was running and profitted by the opportunity to make a general confession of his life such as pious people make in preparation for death. Thus prepared he met his death "*delectus Deo et hominibus*," as writes the narrator of his death. He left behind him a brother, also a Jesuit, in Ceylon.

The Rest of the Missionaries.

In 1644 the Missionaries were again recalled to Colombo as their lives were in danger. There was little prospect of their ever returning to some of the Residences, and their presence in the College was so embarrassing at a time when the necessities of life were so scarce that the Rector sent them all to India except three Fathers and two Lay Brothers whose presence was considered necessary. After the recapture of Negombo the Hollanders threatened to march on Colombo by land. There was great consternation in town, and the Blessed Sacrament was continually exposed. By Lent the danger was warded off, and the Jesuits endeavoured by sermons and religious functions to bring the people to do their Christian duties. In this they were highly successful.

These troubles occasioned great poverty, and the Fathers tried to help the destitute "not once or twice, but often and in great abundance." A ship that took fire at sea put into harbour, and the Jesuits undertook to nurse the sufferers. The Dutch deserters were also under the care of the Jesuits.

The Jesuit Mission had now lost several Residences.²⁷⁴ Galle, Negombo and a portion of the Seven Korales, "which had become almost entirely Christian," fell into the hands of the Hollanders. For some time the Jesuits continued to administer the sacraments secretly and at night, but "the heretics coming to hear of it, immediately drove the

Fathers, publishing rigorous edicts against all the Religious, and especially against the Jesuits."²⁷⁵ The result was that our "Fathers remain in the town of Colombo and in the neighbouring villages, keeping the Sinhalese people faithful to the faith of Our Lord, and at the same time loyal to the King of Portugal, their true and legitimate sovereign. So great is the success of their labours that the Indians, who compose a great part of the army which we have in the island, are so animated by the example of the valiant Portuguese, and the courage inspired by our Fathers who are with them, that they resist the Hollanders who are constantly in arms, no less than their pagan compatriots in whose neighbourhood we live."²⁷⁵

The Christians of the occupied territories were dispersed and the churches destroyed "partly owing to the violence of the King of Kandy and partly owing to the ill-treatment of the Hollanders." But the Viceroy of India "sent into this country, which is very vast and fertile, a colony from Salsette, (*vne colonie de Salsetans*) with their wives and children. They willingly agreed to the emigration at the instance of our Fathers who are Curés in Salsette, and as the people of Salsette are older Christians and stronger in the faith, their example will be very useful to the people with whom they have to live."²⁷⁵

Six Residences still remained, and were manned by six Jesuits. In 1648, there were in all 11 Jesuits, 5 in the College, and 6 in the

²⁷⁴ Maracci's mistake that the Jesuits "lost a College" is repeated in the Portuguese *FRAN. 118*. There was no College in Galle.

²⁷⁵ M. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales .. Présentée à la Sacrée Congregation de la Propagation de la Foy, Par le P. Jean Maracci Procureur de la Province de Goa, au mois d'Avril 1649.* (Paris 1651) pp. 60-62.

Residences. But the times were disastrous to the Portuguese. The power of Portugal was rapidly waning. In 1640 Portugal revolted against Philip III, (IV of Spain), and a new dynasty was founded by the Duke of Braganza under the name of John IV. The new king concluded a ten years' armistice with the United Provinces (1641). When this was notified in Ceylon fresh trouble arose regarding the interpretation of the clauses which affected the state of affairs in Ceylon. What was worse, the Portuguese Government of Goa was gradually leaving their countrymen in Ceylon to their own resources at a time when they most needed assistance.

It was at one time feared that the Portuguese would try to place Vijayapála on the throne of Kandy, but no attempt was made, and Rája Sinha had nothing to fear on that score. However, his new allies, the Hollanders, did not observe their treaties any more than the Portuguese, and trouble was brewing between them and Rája Sinha. On the advice of the council of Colombo the General made an attempt to fish in troubled waters, and despatched two ambassadors to Kandy. One of these was Father Sebastian da Fonseca, Rector of the College. Rája Sinha could not be moved. He had set his heart on ridding himself of the Portuguese, and profitted by the opportunity to set the rival nations by the ears. He informed the Dutch of the new move of the Portuguese, and made the two embassies dance attendance at Court for three years.

Father Fonseca, however, seems to have turned his enforced sojourn to good account. "By order of the Viceroy," wrote Maracci in his report to Propaganda in 1649, "one of our Fathers resides at Kandy, where he is in the Court of the King of Ceylon. He not only ministers to the many European Christians who live there, and especially to our ambassador, but also tries to win the

affection of the pagans to our holy faith; and Our Lord in His goodness has deigned to open the eyes of some of them, so that they enroll in His Service."²⁷⁵

While the Dutch were profitting by the armistice to get ready for the coming struggle, the luckless Portuguese were wasting their time in shameless inactivity. Thus, when the Hollanders notified that the period of the armistice was over, the people realised that Colombo was hopelessly unprepared for war. The soldiers, townsmen and even the very clergy began to entertain serious misgivings about the good faith of the General, Manuel Mascarenhas Hommem. That he had been guilty of criminal neglect and mismanagement, not to say worse, seemed undoubted. Seven Dutch vessels intercepted supplies from India, and a land force of the Hollanders threatened Colombo, when the Portuguese were roused to action.

The Menikkaduwa garrison broke out in open mutiny and marched on Colombo to denounce the General. Thus brought to bay, Hommem was for meeting force with force, which meant civil war while the enemy was at the gate. The people were aghast, and at their entreaties the Jesuits intervened. The Rector of the College went out to meet the angry crowds Crucifix in hand. He was joined by the Franciscans, also carrying a Crucifix for the same purpose. Together they succeeded in calming the minds of the people. The *Camara* proceeded to the Jesuit church, and the Rector sallied out once more, carrying the Blessed Sacrament in full view. This is said to have had great effect on the people who bound themselves by oath "to do no harm to anybody, least of all to the General."

The General was soon placed under custody, and three *Eleitos* were chosen to carry on the government till the Viceroy

could be communicated with. The Jesuit Rector was asked to go to Goa for the purpose. At first he prudently declined the perilous undertaking, but was persuaded to accept the task in the interests of "God and King," and he set sail in a transport ship. They managed to escape the vigilance of the Dutch vessels, and were congratulating themselves on their good fortune when a light Dutch vessel gave chase and seized the heavily laden Portuguese boat, and captured

all hands including the Rector. Report said that it cost the Rector his life.

In order to avoid similar outbursts and to promote piety among the soldiers, the Jesuits organised a Confraternity for soldiers. The chief aim of the Sodalists was to give Christian burial to their fallen comrades. From this time forward little is known of the doings of the Jesuits except what historians tell of their activities during the siege of Colombo.

The Siege of Colombo.

The last siege of Colombo is a tragic piece of history. The heroism of the little band of Portuguese who held that town for their king and their faith, under frightful odds and at the cost of sufferings untold, and amidst privations the most horrible, without even a cry of surrender is perhaps the most glorious feat that marked the Portuguese warfare in this island. Whatever we may think of the doings of that nation in Ceylon, however much they deserve our censures, no one can read without admiration and pity that tale of gallantry and woe. Weary of waiting for a relief that never came, yet hoping against hope, worn out with fatigue and famished with want but bold and daring in attack and defence, victorious but without the means to profit by victory, left to their fate by their countrymen, and hard pressed by a relentless foe, plague-stricken, sick, wounded and famished, amidst ghastly scenes, the hapless Portuguese held out against an overwhelming force of Hollanders and Sinhalese, with a grim determination and an indomitable energy that astounded the very besiegers.

The Jesuits of Colombo shared the fate and misery of that siege. There were six Jesuits in Colombo in 1655. One was a lay Brother, Manoel Borges, of whom nothing is recorded, not even whether he was there at the time of the siege. He was afterwards heard of in Goa. It is the same with Father

Franciscus Mendez, who was afterwards in Malabar. Of the Rector of the College, Joannes Camello, it is only recorded that he died, *circa* 1656. He was then about 60 years old and subject to infirmities. Of the doings of the three other Jesuits both Portuguese and Dutch historians testify. Two of them were priests, Antonio Nunes and Emmanuel Velles. The third and the most conspicuous was a Scholastic named Damien Vieyra.

Theirs was a hard time. Themselves sufferers, they had to minister to their suffering countrymen. This they did with their customary devotion and charity. Their chief work was of course the exercise of their sacred ministry. In this likewise they distinguished themselves. The sick and the dying had to be fortified with the Sacraments and rites of the Church. Men and women disabled and helpless had to be consoled and encouraged to bear their misery with resignation, and combatants had to be shriven to face the inevitable death and to be assisted to die piously.

Nor was this all. More men died than could be conveniently buried. None could be spared to do this work of mercy and sanitation. When no other hands were available the Jesuits with their own hands carried the dead for burial. It was often a perilous task by day under the heavy fire of the enemy, and Vieyra who often attempted it soon gave it up to be resumed under cover of night. As the siege

dragged on and its severity increased, the lack of food began to tell on the populace, and disease worked havoc among the ill-fed, starving masses. This state of things called for the utmost devotion of the priests.

Towards the end of the fatal siege, when men had fallen and the garrison reduced, it became a matter of life and death to man the defences. The Jesuits strove might and main to give the defenders every assistance. They shared their dangers, accompanied them in

their sallies, and stood by them at time of death. They carried arms and ammunition, to keep the scanty defenders well supplied, and when ammunition ran short it was the work of the Religious to protect what remained of it at the risk of their own lives. They took their turn at guarding and watching, and in times of assault they boldly took the posts of danger, without forgetting their foremost duty of assisting them in the hour of death.

The Heroism of Damien Vieyra.

Damien Vieyra was not content with this limited sphere of usefulness. He was not a priest²⁷⁶ and was in consequence untrammelled by priestly duties and the restrictions of Canon Law. And thus, seeing the plight to which his countrymen were reduced, he came forward boldly to play the part of a soldier and signalled himself by his daring exploits. He was only 26 years old, and seemed to bear a charmed life, for he came out of many a sanguinary encounter of which he was the hero. Resourceful, prompt and brave to a degree, he was an intrepid fighter, ever in the thick of the fray, himself felling many a Hollander with his good sword. In fact he proved to be a far better soldier than Jesuit. He survived the fall of Colombo but was expelled from the Society of Jesus. But his services to the beleaguered town were considerable, and the courage and ingenuity he displayed have won for him the admiration of both Portuguese and Dutch writers.

Says Ribeiro: "During the siege there was in the city a Religious²⁷⁷ of the Society of Jesus,

a man of energy and remarkable courage; realising that if the enemy continued his fire from here (Queen's Gate) he would in a few days have the whole city exposed and make himself easily its master, as it had so few to defend it now, he took into his confidence some of those who he thought would follow him in this undertaking, just as he had done in others. Without revealing his plan to anyone he passed the word to thirteen to be ready at midday, and having successfully asked for the Captain-General's permission, he sallied out at the head of those few and entered the battery, unperceived; and there the edge of their swords gave the alarm so that a few succeeded in saving their lives. In one hour he destroyed the battery, which was made of palms and fascines, and placing the whole on fire he succeeded in withdrawing his followers without any loss behind the dense smoke, leaving the enemy astonished and confused; and I have no doubt that if he had three hundred men with him he would not have left a Hollander alive" (p. 375).

"It is impossible to mention in detail what each one did; but the Padre Damiao Vieira of the Society of Jesus deserves no less praise, for during the whole of the siege his behaviour was that of a most careful and zealous Captain than of professed religious²⁷⁸; for there was

276. At least not while in Ceylon. He took priests' orders later, Ribeiro calls him *Religioso*, which Mr. Piens renders by 'Priest' in Ribeiro's *Ceilao*: Ferguson, ever a careful translator, more correctly by 'monk'. There is properly speaking no English word corresponding to *Religioso*, except Religious, which is a Gallicanism. A Religious is a member of a Religious Order, clerical or lay, in priests' orders or not. The anonymous French translator of Ribeiro (J. L. G.) according to the original edition, Trevoux 1701; and 'Mons. Le Grand' according to the Amsterdam reprint) speaks of Vieira as 'Prêtre & Jesuite.' He also used Vieira's papers for his "*Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylan*."

"...J'ai trouvé plusieurs journaux du Pere Damien Vieira "qui quoique Prêtre & Jesuite, s'est rendu fameux par la defense qu'il fit a Colombo, & ensuite a Cochín, j'ai aussi quelques originaux de ce Pere, & entr'autres de grands memoires sur le Gouvernement Ecclesiastique, & sur le Gouvernement Civil des Indes, d'où j'ai tiré beaucoup de particularitez touchant l'Isle de Ceylan" Preface du Traducteur in the original edition of Trevoux. There 'particularitez' he gathered on Ribeiro.

277. Ribeiro's *Ceilão* 375. I venture to insert this word in accordance with the previous note. Ribeiro has "*hum Religioso da Companhia de Jesu*. Fatal. Hist. p. 197.

278. Ibid, 377. Ribeiro: "...Mas obru... como mui to cuidadoso e distelado capitão, do que parecia professo religioso. Fat. His 190.

not an assault in which he was not the first, and several were planned by him, all with success; he it was who kept in check the three hundred who had made their way by the lake at the first assault, and it was he who destroyed the battery at the Queen's Gate; in conclusion I declare that the Society may be proud of such a soldier and the soldiers of such a Captain" (p. 377).

Unlike Vieyra the two other Jesuits were content to play a minor part. Of these Father Nunez was the first to fall. He was killed on the 7 May, 1656, in one of the encounters of that eventful day. It was a Sunday, and in spite of rain the miserable garrison was at Mass when the Hollanders delivered their assault. They had reckoned on the fact, and had already scaled the walls and captured the bastion before the alarm was given. There was a precipitate rush, and in the terrible struggle that followed both Father Nunez and Father Velles took part. It was, from all accounts, a magnificent struggle, the last brilliant flicker before the end. There fell Father Nunez ²⁷⁹ "who during the long siege was no less conspicuous for his charity and zeal for the salvation of souls than for the valour he displayed when occasion demanded."

Last Gasp of the Dying Portuguese.

This was the last gasp of the dying Portuguese. It was realised that they were no longer justified in continuing the struggle. On the 9 May they had not enough ammunition to last a week. "Some voted for sending the few women and children we had into a church and setting it and the whole city on fire, while the few men who remained should die sword in hand among the enemy, so that the very memory of the people of this city might not be left, and the enemy might not boast of his conquest. The Prelates of the Religious orders who were present at this meeting vetoed the suggestion, declaring that such would be the work of Gentiles and utter barbarians and one condemned by all laws human and divine:

Father Vellez escaped unhurt, and was one of the small band of less than thirty, soldiers and casados, whom circumstances compelled to take up arms, and who followed Gaspar Arriago Pereyra the same day to attack the woodwork of S. Joao held by more than 500 Hollanders. Father Vellez carried the "pens and goblets of powder" which set fire to the barrels of gun-powder. Many of the Hollanders and their Sinhalese comrades-at-arms were hurled through the air, and the rest were driven at the point of the Portuguese swords. Pursuing the enemy the gallant band made its way to the gate which the Hollanders barred behind them. Father Vellez promptly fetched *alavancas* and a hand saw with which it was forced open. Eight Portuguese, including the Father, rushed in and were followed by two others, "ten men against an army" exclaims de Queyroz. But the fates were against the Portuguese. A barrel of powder took fire and burnt many fatally. Father Vellez received two bullet wounds, and de Queyroz, who had these incidents from an eyewitness, records that Father Vellez rendered valiant services during the siege, ever ready to take the posts of the greatest peril. He probably died of his wounds ²⁸⁰

our duty was to resign ourselves to the will of God and not to oppose His divine decrees: for though His Majesty had laid special importance on the defence of the island, yet it was his Ministers who would be called upon to explain why no relief was sent for this length of time" (377-8) ²⁸¹.

On the 10th May the Portuguese hoisted the white flag. Three Portuguese envoys presented the articles of capitulation, the first of which was that "the churches and statues should be treated with all respect; that the clergy should be at liberty to take with them all things belonging to the ceremonies and all the properties of the Church they might desire to

²⁷⁹. Cf. Baldeus, Church. III. 684, 693.

²⁸⁰. Cf. *Ibid.*, 693.

²⁸¹. *Ribeiro's Ceilao* 377-8.

remove, the Dutch undertaking to convey them to certain places" ²⁸². The terms were agreed to, and when the Dutch commander saw the seventy three living skeletons that had exacted such terms he almost regretted he had consented to them.

"At the surrender of Colombo," writes Knox, "which was the last place the Portuguese held, the King made Proclamation, That all Portuguese which would come unto him, should be well entertained. Which accordingly did, many with their whole Families, Wives, Children and Servants, choosing rather to be under him than the Dutch, and divers of them are alive to this day, living in Cande-Uda; and others are born there. To all whom he alloweth monthly maintenance; yea also, and

Provisions for their Slaves and Servants, which they brought up with them. This people are privileged to Travel the Countreys above all other Whites, as knowing they will not run away. Also when there was a Trade at the Sea Ports, they were permitted to go down with Commodities, clear from all Customs and Duties. Besides these who came voluntarily to live under the King, there are other whom he took prisoners. The Portuguese of the best Quality the King took into his Service, who are most of them since cut off according to his kind Custom towards his Courtiers. The rest of them have allowance from that King, and follow Husbandry, Trading about the Countrey, Stilling Rack, keeping Taverns; the Women sew Women's Wastcoats, the Men sew Mens Doublets for Sale. ²⁸³

The Captive Jesuits.

Little is known of the four Jesuits who were already prisoners in Kandy at the time of the siege. One of these was a Lay Brother, Laurentius Carreirus, captured about 1649, a year after his noviceship. His name is mentioned but once in the *Catalogues* since his capture, and a letter of 1655 does not include him among the Jesuit prisoners, who are said to be three. These were three priests, Vergonse, Carvalho, and de Fontes, all captives since 1651.

Bartholomew Bergoncius, *alias*, Vergonse, Bargancio, was an Italian born circa 1583, who had been Rector successively of Coulan and Cranganore, Master of Novices and Socius to the Provincial of Malabar, and was versed in Tamil and Syriac. He was appointed Rector of the College of Colombo, and fell into the hands of the Sinhalese on his way to assume the duties of his new post.

Joannes de Carvalho was likewise captured while on his way to Colombo to become Rector of the College. He had been Rector of Négapatam, Superior of Manar, and lastly Rector of Jaffnapatam. He was about 50 years old at the time of his capture.

Antonio de Fontes was an older man of 65, who had spent 24 years as a missionary in Cochin China and Tonquin. The circumstances of his capture are unknown. The *Catalogue* of 1652 marks him "*nunc Candia insula Seilam injuste detentus*" ²⁸⁴

According to a letter of 1654 the captive Jesuits had won the esteem of Rāja Sinha, and used their influence in the interests of their countrymen. "Their conduct and well known virtues have won for them the respect and esteem of the pagan king himself. They are even considered to be of great use to the town of Colombo, in as much as at their request the king often desists from making armed incursions, and from intercepting the supplies of the town." They were served by a Tamil youth from Jaffna, whose devotion and fidelity, in spite of Rāja Sinha's attempts to win him over to his service, are recounted in the Annual Letter of 1654.

The *Catalogues* of the Province of Malabar give no news of these captive Jesuits. Their names are omitted from the list of the members of the Province. The Jesuits, however, were not the only priests who were detained in Kandy, and two priests are said to have

²⁸². Danvers II. 317.

²⁸³. Knox—*An Historical Relation*, fol. 176.

²⁸⁴. *Catalogus Operariorum Soc. Jesu. qui in insula Ceylana, aliquando laboraverunt*. Berse.

taken service with Rāja Sinha, and the others died. We get the following glimpses of Father Vergonse through the eyes of his sometime fellow-prisoner, Robert Knox.

"There was at the time an old Portuguese father, Padre Vergonse by name, living in the City. With him they (i.e. the English merchantmen captured by Rāja Sinha) discoursed concerning the probability of their Liberty, and that the favours the king had shewn them, seemed to be good signs of it; but he told them the plain truth, that it was not customary there to release *white* Men. For saying which, they railed at him, calling him a *Popish Dog*, and Jesuitical Rogue, supposing he spoke as he wished it might be. But afterward, to their grief, they found it to be true as he told them." (133).

The following is Knox's version of a case of conscience. The same Englishmen "being not used to such short Commons of Flesh, tho they had Rice in abundance, and having no Money to buy more, they had a desire to kill some Cows, that they might eat their Bellies full of Beef: but made it somewhat a point of Conscience, whether it might be lawful or not, to take them without leave. Upon which they apply themselves to the old Father abovesaid, desiring him to solve this Case of Conscience, Who was very ready to give them a dispensation, And told them 'That forasmuch as the Chingulayes were their Enemies, and had taken their Bodies, it was very lawful for them to satisfy their Bodies with their Goods.' And the better to animate them in this design, bid them bring him a piece, that he might partake with them. So being encouraged by the old father, they went on boldly in their intended Business." (133-4)

The following extract, from the conclusion of Knox's narrative, tells what Knox thought of Padre Vergonse and the Christians:—

"If any enquire into the Religious exercise and Worship practised among the Christians here, I am sorry I must say it, I can give but a slender account; For they have no churches nor no priests, and so no meetings together on the Lord's Dayes for Divine Worship, but each one Reads or Prays at his own House as he is disposed. They *sanctifie* the Day chiefly by refraining from work and meeting together at Drinking-houses. They continue

the practise of *Baptism*: and there being no priests, they Baptize their Children themselves with Water, and use the words "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" and give them Christian Names. They have their Friends about them at such a time, and make a small Feast according to their Ability, and some teach their Children to say their Prayers, and to Read and some do not.

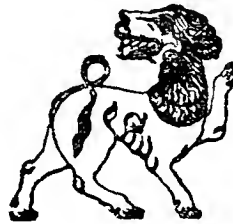
"Indeed their religion at the best is but Negative, that is, they are not Heathen, they do not comply with the Idolatry here practised, and they profess themselves Christians in a general manner, which appear by their names, and by their Beads and Crosses that some of them wear about their Necks. Nor indeed can I wholly clear them from compliance with the Religion of the countrey. For some of them when they are Sick do use the Ceremonies which the Heathen do in the like case, as in making Idols of clay, and setting them up in their Houses, and offering rice to them and having Weavers to dance before them. But they are ashamed to be known to do this; and I have known none to do it, but such as are Indians born. Yet I never knew any of them, that do inwardly in Heart and conscience incline in the ways of the Heathen, but perfectly abhor them; nor have there been any, I ever heard of, that came to their Temples upon any Religious account, but only would stand by and look on; without it were one old priest named Padre Vergonce, a Genoez born, and of the Jesuits order, who would go to the Temples, and eat with the Weavers and other ordinary People of the Sacrifices offered to the Idols; but with this Apology for himself, that he eat it as common Meat, and as God's Creature, and that it was never the worse for their Superstition that had past upon it. But however this may reflect upon the Father. another thing may be related to his Honour. There happened two Priests to fall into the hands of the King; on whom he conferred great

Honours ; for, having laid aside their Habits, they kept about his Person, and were the greatest Favourites at Court. The King one day sent for Vergonse, and asked him, Of it would not be better for him to lay aside his old Coat and Cap, and to do as the other two Priests had done, and receive Honour from him." He replied to the King " That he boasted more in that old habit and the name of Jesus, than in all the honour he that he could do to him." And so refused the King's honour. The king valued the father for this saying. He had a pretty Library about him, and died of in his Bed of old Age ; whereas the two other Priests in the King's Service died miserably, one of Cancer, and the other was

slain. The old priest had about Thirty or Forty books, which the King, they say, seized on after his death, and keeps.

"These Priests, and more lived there, but all deceased, excepting Vergonse, before my time. The king allowed them to build a church ; which they did, and the Portuguese assembled there, but they made no better than a Bawdy-house of it ; for which cause the king commanded to pull it down.

"Although here be Protestants and Papists, yet here are no differences kept up among them ; but they are as good friends, as if there were no such parties. And there is no other Distinction of Religion there, but only Heathens and Christians ; and we usually say we Christians." (188-9.)



THE LARGEST DĀGEBA AT TISSA- MAHĀRĀMA.

By P. D. RATNATUNGA.

THE restoration of the largest dāgeba at Tissamahārāma in the Hambantota District, undertaken in 1853 A. C. ¹ by the Sāmanēra Bhikkhu Vēpata-ira Sumana, was completed in 1912 ² by the Tissamahārāma Great Dāgeba Completion Society.

It is the first Dāgeba of its (large) size erected in Ceylon (*J.R.A.S.*, C.B., VIII, 98), and it also happens to be the only one of that size that has been completely restored in modern times. The Buddhists as well as

others who take an interest in the architectural remains of ancient Ceylon, are deeply indebted to the executive officers of the above mentioned Society whose energetic efforts have resulted in the successful completion of the restoration of this great work.

Following the sensible and time-honoured practice, the restorers set up, in July, 1917, at the base of the dome of the structure, an inscription in white marble of which the following is the text and translation:—

Text of Inscription.

සිරිගත සුගත් මුනි වසරින් තෙසිය පස
ලොස් වනුයෙහි පටන් තෙසිය එකුන් අසුව
දක්වා සිරිලක රුහුණ මහ දනුවෙහි අග
රජය කළ කාවන්තිස් නම් විහිපල්ලු විසින්
මාගම් පුරයෙහි සිය නවින් කරවූ නිස්මහ
අරමිහි සැසි මුනි රදුන්ගේ නලල් ද පිහිටුවා
නිමවනලද මෙම මහ දොරටු පිළිගන්නා
නොලදින් රජපත්වැ නිබ්බු විසින් දෙදහස්
තෙසිය අනුවක් පිරුණු සඳු වෙපතනුර සුමන
නම් හෙරණ පානන් විසින් එහි කටුකොහොල්
හරවා අරඹනලද පිළිසකර කරණය නිස්මහ
වෙහෙර කිරිය සාදන නම් සමිහිය විසින්
දෙදහස් සූසිය තෙසාලිස් වනුයෙහිදී කොට
නිමවා කොත් පලදවන ලදී.

වල්පිට මෙධකර සාවිර

ජෝසොප් අර්නෝලිස් අමරසිංහ

චාල්ස් ප්‍රන්සිස් සුඞිර ජයවික්‍රම.

The Translation.

The great Dāgeba which was built in his own name at Tissamahārāma in the city of Māgama by the King called Kāvantis who was supreme ruler ² in the great country of Ruhuna in Ceylon between the years 315 and 379 A.B., and in which was placed the forehead relic of Sākyamuni, having fallen into decay for want of care and attention, the jungle around it was cleared and its restoration undertaken in the year 2390 A.B. by a Sāmanera named Vēpata-ira Sumana. This restoration was completed and the pinnacle placed on the dāgeba in the year 2443 A.B. by the Society called Tismaha Vehera Kiriya Sādaka.

Walpiṭa Mēdhankara Thero

Joseph Arṇolis Amarasinha

Charles Francis Sudhīra Jayawikrama.

1. Date taken from the Society's Report for 1909-1912.

2. The term used, අගරජ, does not, it is feared, appear to be quite appropriate if the statement in the *Rajavalsya* (Sinh. ed. p. 18) is correct that Kāvantis ruled Ruhuna paying tribute to Elāra who was reigning at Anurādhapura.

This inscription, of which two points border upon the controversial, has been the subject of correspondence between the present writer and the late Mudaliyar C. F. S. Jayawikrama, Secretary of the Society which completed the restoration. It was the intention of the latter to place the whole of the correspondence before the public in order "properly to thresh out the question." His untimely death having prevented him from carrying out his intention, the following short summary of the correspondence is now published in the hope that competent students of Ceylon history, who feel qualified to do so, will express their views on the points at issue in the pages of *The Ceylon Antiquary*.

With regard to the elegant language of the inscription, everybody will agree that it is an excellent specimen of pure Sinhalese of the day. The controversial points in it are—

- (a) the statement ascribing the dāgeba to Kāvantissa, and
- (b) the statement that the Forehead Relic (හරලේ ද) of the Buddha is enshrined in this dāgeba.

It is somewhat difficult to identify this monument with as much certainty as, for instance, the Ruwanwelisēya at Anurādhapura now under restoration. The Tissamaha Vihāra founded by Kāvantissa along with Situlpawwa and other vihāras (*Mahāvansa*, Chap. XXII, 23) may perhaps be the one near the Talagurupawwa and Vehera mentioned in the *Saddharmāṅkārāya* (pages 594, 622, 537), and in the *Rasavāhinī*. (Part II, pages 128, 131, 115.)³ But "Talaguru Vihāre in Rohaṇa [has] not [been] identified" (Turnour, *Mahāvansa*, page 25). Kāvantissa's Tissamahārāma does not appear to have been iden-

tified by any responsible authority with the dāgeba recently restored, and there is no evidence, not even reliable tradition, to support the statement in the inscription that the Forehead-bone Relic of the Buddha is deposited in this dāgeba.

The lines—

නිකර්තන සම්පුර්ණ සසඬන බිම, &c.
appearing in the *Vandanā-gāthā-pot* (Hand-books of the Devotees), and the verse beginning පබ්බ ආදිල අසුන් ඉන්සේ රණින් ලේ කුමානේ, said to occur in the *Tiratna Mālāwa* (an eighteenth century poem by Sumana Unnāse, pupil of the Sangharāja⁴), which say that "the Lalāṭa Dhātu is enshrined in the Tissamaha Dāgeba," do not mention the situation of the Tissamaha Vihāre and Dāgeba therein referred to.

It was the belief among some of the thoughtful and well-informed Buddhists of the last generation in the Hambantota District that the structure recently restored is the Mahānāga Dāgeba erected at the Nāgamahā Vihāra by Dēvanampiyatissa's brother, Mahānāga, who founded the Rohaṇa dynasty (*Mahāvansa*, XXII, 8 and 9), after killing the then reigning king of Māgama (Sinh. *Thūpawansa*, page 95). This opinion is fully confirmed by Parker—Vide his *Ancient Ceylon*. (pages 323 to 326, 459, etc.), and his excellent "Report on Archaeological Discoveries at Tissamahārāma" published in the *J.R.A.S., C.B.*, (Vol. VIII, No. 27, 1884, pages 96, 99, etc.)

King Ilanāga (95-101 A.C.) who "enlarged the dāgeba" (*Mahāvansa* XXXV, 32), in his inscription⁵, now replaced inside the restored structure, calls it "the Nāgamahā Vihāre," leaving us in no doubt as to its identity.

3. "Talagura pabbatā-sanne Tissamaha Vihāre."

4. Vide D. M. De Z. Wikramasingha, *Catalogue of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum*, page XXII.

5. See pp. 26, 73 and 109 of the Text of Dr. Edward Muller's "Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon." The inscription (No. 4 reads:—

සිමි. මහනක රජහ පුතෙ අළුතක රජ නකමහ විහෙර කර [හි] ගොළගම විලව ගොළගම කෙන මහ
..... ගමව නම.

Hail! King Alunaka, son of king Mahānāga, built (or enlarged?) the Nāgamahā Vihāra, the tank and the field at Golagama

The weight of the evidence is, therefore, decidedly in favour of the belief that this dāgeba was built, not by Kāvantissa, but by his great grandfather, Mahānāga, at the Nāgamahā Vihāre established by him (*Mahāvansa*, XXII, 9).

Let us now inquire into the alleged contents of the Thūpa—the relics enshrined in it. The inscription under notice says that the Frontal-Bone Relic (𑖕𑖔𑖕𑖔) of the Buddha is deposited in it. Since the history of this Relic does not seem to be recorded in the *Mahāvansa*, we must look elsewhere for the information. The *Dhātuvansa*, which gives many particulars of the Rūhūṇa works, does not say that the Forehead Relic is enshrined in the Dāgeba under notice (Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 324, 325). This book, on the other hand, distinctly mentions that the Lalāṭa Dhātu was placed in the "fair white dāgeba southwards from the Mahawēliganga lying not far from the Seru tank"⁶ that is, at the modern Seruwāwila. This Dāgeba "is near the right bank of the Mahawēliganga and to the north of the Verukal branch of that river,"⁷ and was built, according to the *Dhātuvansa*, by Kāvantissa enshrining the Lalāṭa-Dhātu and a hair relic of the Buddha.

It is true that, according to the *Dhātuvansa*, the relic in question was for four generations in Māgama placed in a Relic House. This sacred relic was brought to Ceylon by Mahādeva in the reign of Mahānāga at

Māgama, and it received the veneration of the Rohaṇa princes up to the time of Kāvantissa, who enshrined it in the Seruwāwila Dāgeba.

A letter of the late Rev. Beḍigama Ratanapāla, Nāyaka Thero, says that when Sumana Sāmanera in the middle of the last century went to Tissamahārāma, he was shown, by the inhabitants of Sitrāwila, who claim descent from the contemporaries of Kāvantissa, the remains of the large dāgeba now restored, as the Tissamahārāma built by Kāvantissa. It is also said by those who support the record in the recent inscription that the *Dhātuvansa* is an unreliable work.

The setting up of a permanent inscription with the legend that the dāgeba under notice was built by Kāvantissa over the Forehead Relic of the Buddha misleads the public in the present and will in the future. Generations later when Māgama is again in ruins (may the day be far distant), and Seruwāwila becomes an unknown village (there being no Buddhists and no Sinhalese even now), and the marble slab of the Tissamahārāma Society and Ilanāga's inscription are discovered among the debris of the dāgeba, the archaeologists of the future will be puzzled to reconcile the two inscriptions with each other, and the later one with the *Dhātuvansa* location of Seruwāwila. Perhaps the Society has not sufficiently realised the confusion that its action is likely to lead to in the time to come.⁸

6. Mrs. Ethel M. Coomaraswamy's translation of Prof. Geiger's "*Dipavansa and Mahāvansa*," p. 92. See also p. 10 of Louis de Zoysa's *Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in Temple Libraries*.

7. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 331.

8. A little want of care probably on the part of certain officials of the Court of Parākrama Bāhu I. has resulted in the misnaming of a pair of historic monuments, viz., the Abhayagiri and the Jetawana Dāgebas at Anurādhapura.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS AGAINST TRINCOMALEE.

I. THE FRENCH VS. THE DUTCH: 1671.

By S. G. P.

FOR nearly a century after the doubling the Cape the Portuguese succeeded in keeping the route to India a dead secret. Seafaring men of other nationalities were loath to venture on long voyages in unknown seas into ports jealously guarded by the Portuguese in search of the riches of the Indies, till Cornelius Hautmann learnt the secret in Lisbon.¹ Hautmann was arrested and condemned, but he succeeded in persuading the merchants of Amsterdam of the value of the secret he had surreptitiously gained. They liberated him, and in 1595 he set out, the forerunner of the hosts to come. The English, and even Danes and Swedes, followed where the Dutch led the way, and it was not long before the French followed suit.²

In 1601 a Société was formed for the purpose and the voyages of Pyrard de Laval was the outcome. Norman sailors and Dieppe merchants took up the enterprise. Cardinal Richelieu created a company to colonise Madagascar, and finally Colbert merged the 'Société

de l'Orient' into a Compagnie des Indes Orientales constituted with Royal support in August, 1664.³ Colbert was then in the height of power and his confidence was gained by François Caron, who had already figured in Ceylon history. Though a Frenchman Caron was born in Holland,⁴ and took service under the Dutch. He served them in India, China and Ceylon, where in 1644 he captured Negombo for the Dutch; but considering himself ill-requited for nearly thirty years of labour⁵ he quitted the service. When rumours of the projected French company reached his ears he hastened to France to offer his services to the country of his origin.

One of the points which Caron urged in his memoir to Colbert was the necessity of having a French port in the East, which could be a centre of trade as well as a safe refuge in time of need.⁶ The port which Caron had in view was Trincomalee,⁷ and he enlarged on the advantages of its position, etc. He gave Colbert a brief *resumé* of the doings of the

1. *Les Français dans l'Inde*, H. Druon (Paris 1886) p. 14.

2. "Pourquoy" wrote Charpentier in his *Discours d'un fidele vrier du Roy touchant l'establissement d'une compagnie françoise pour le commerce des Indes Orientales* (Paris 1651) "Pourquoy faudroit-il que les Portugais, les Hollandois, les Anglois, les Danois, allassent tous les jours dans les Indes Orientales, y possedassent des magazins et des forteresses, et que les François n'y eussent jamais ni l'un ni l'autre" p. 7. This pamphlet was written at Colbert's request to rouse the French to action.

3. *La Première Escadre de la France dans les Indes par* Th. Delort (Paris 1875) p. 6-7.

4. He was born in what was then Holland i.e. Brussels.

5. 1619-39 in charge of the Dutch factory of Firando in Japan; 1643 returned to Holland, 1644 Director general of Commerce in India, Ceylon, governor of Tayova (Formosa) for a short time. In 1651 he returned to Holland with van de Lyn and retired from the service.

6. Caron maintained that the possession of a port and territory was an indispensable condition of success, Druon, 25.

7. *Histoire General des Voyages*, xi 266, "une place a laquelle tous les Navigateurs n'ont rien trouvé ni connu de pareil dans les quatre parties du monde, & où l'on pourra s'établir & se fortifier avec la dixieme partie de la dépense que les Hollandois ont faite à Batavia & les Portugais à Goa."

Charpentier makes a veiled allusion to it: "il y a tel lieu qui n'est occupé de personne, et que l'on dira en temps et heure, dont nous pourrions nous saisir, et où l'on feroit le plus grand commerce que se soit jamais fait," p. 19.

Portuguese and the Dutch in Ceylon, and assured the minister that the King of Kandy was well disposed to the French, and that Trincomalee was in his giving. Colbert thereupon decided to venture, and before the century closed the French made an attempt to secure Trincomalee for them, in 1672, under Admiral De La Haye,⁸ but were foiled by the Dutch. The second attempt, in 1782, under Suffren⁹ as the ally of the Dutch, was thwarted by the English.

In July, 1665, Francois Caron was made Directeur aux Indes of the French India Company, and left for his destination with the Marquis de Mondevergue. While in India Caron offered the services of the French to the King of Kandy. He attempted to communicate with him through Antonio Goez de Valente,¹⁰ a Portuguese merchant, and when this plan failed he turned to the Capuchins. Though of the 'Reformed Religion,' and very distrustful of monks, he endeavoured to engage the services of a Capuchin, Père Ephrem, who we are told "knew thē language of Ceylon, and the ceremonies of the court of Candia"; but Père Ephrem steadily declined, though pressed by Caron and afterwards by De La Haye.¹¹

Admiral De La Haye had left Rochefort in March 1670 with the French Royal Squadron, and after a long voyage to Belle-Isle, Funchall, Saldanha Bay, Fort Dauphin, arrived at Suratte in September, 1671. After some delay and many difficulties he was joined by Caron and left Suvally on 6 January, 1672, on his expedition to Trincomalee. His fleet consisted of the vessels *le Navarre*, *le Julle*, *le Triomphe*, and *le Flamand*; the flûtes *la*

Sultane, *l'Indienne* and *l'Europe*, and the light frigate *la Diligente*, belonging to the King's squadron; and *le Saint-Jean-Baptiste* and *le Phoenix*, the houcres *le Saint-Louis*, and two 'barques longues' belonging to the India Company. While sailing along India they were joined by *le Breton* and *le Brabant*. After visiting Goa and Calicut the fleet neared Cape Commorin on the 21st February. There they espied the Dutch fleet of thirteen¹² ships commanded by Admiral Van Goens. De La Haye was for trying conclusions, but Caron would not hear of it. Caron's plan was to set about their work peacefully and avoid a rupture with the Dutch.¹³ De La Haye accordingly avoided the Dutch and sailed towards Galle.

On the 7th March the French fleet passed Galle on its way to Trincomalee. While they were coasting along the east of Ceylon sickness broke out and the fleet was short of water. The Admiral determined to take in water at Batticaloa, and anchored off the Dutch fort. The Governor of the fort sent a 'trumpeter with a Frenchman' to ascertain the intentions of the French. The Admiral contented himself with disclaiming any intention against the fort, and the Governor was so satisfied that he offered to give them provisions if they needed any. De La Haye declined the offer with thanks as he wanted only water which he said he was able to procure for himself.¹⁴ He obtained twelve casks of water, and made for Trincomalee.

On the 22nd March the French fleet anchored at the entrance to the harbour of Trincomalee. As they passed Kottiar the Dutch fort

8. A journal of the voyage was published in 1777 by one of the sailors; "*Relation ou Journal d'un Voyage Fait Aux Indes Orientales*" (Paris 1677,) which is the principal source of information used here. An account of this expedition from a French source with Dutch comments appears in the *Hist. Gen. d. Voyages* XI.

9. The abundant sources of information for the second expedition will be indicated later.

10. Delort, 24.

11. Le Père Ephrem refusa encore, mais du moins consentit à donner quelques renseignements. De La Haye écrivait de Surate à Louis XIV. "Le projet d'entreprise à l'île de Ceylan repose sur les données d'un père capuchin." Delort, 25.

12. *Relation*, 92. According to Delort, only 12.

13. He gives his reasons in a letter to Colbert q.v. Delort, 34-6.

14. Le Gouverneur luy envoya un trompette...pour sçavoir... "si c'estoit à dessein de le braver qu'ils s'approchoit si près de la forteresse. Nostre General luy répondit que non, & que la mer estant libre il se promenoit ou il luy plaisoit" *Relation*, 96.

saluted, 7 guns, and the Frenchman replied with five. The Dutch forthwith abandoned the fort of Kottiar. They reduced it to flames and buried their cannon, threw ammunition to the sea and betook themselves to the fort of Trincomalee. The French Admiral, who had neither pilots nor charts, determined to reconnoitre. Each vessel lowered a boat and a landing was effected. Caron had assured the French that the Dutch were not there, and that the place had been handed over to the King of Kandy when captured from the Portuguese. To explain their presence in Trincomalee Caron wrote to Colbert that the Capuchins of Surat had probably revealed their project to the Dutch! ¹⁵

De La Haye was delighted with what he saw. "La grand baie de Coteary" he wrote "a deux lieues d'entrée et autant de profond. Entrans dedans in petit quart de lieu, on trouve entre deux ilets le port ou havre du Soleil; deux îles en défendent l'entrée à bâbord, et un cap à tribord. La passe est de deux longueurs de câble. Rien au monde n'égale la commodité de ce port; deux mille navires peuvent y être de tous temps et de tous vents, à tel fond qu'il leur plaît. On approche de terre à trois ou quatre brasses d'eaux à la portée d'un grand mât." ¹⁶ In this bay the French fleet anchored and De la Haye and Caron went on land to select sites for the intended fortifications and factory.

De La Haye chose the Isle du Soleil for a fort. From the description given, this islet is what the Dutch called Dwars-in-de-weg, and now goes by the name of Sober Island. Caron chose the smaller islet lying by the side. The crew of the *Breton* were entrusted with the

fortification of the cape, which from that circumstance came to be called 'Pointe Breton.' Twenty men a day from each vessel laboured at the work, and both De La Haye and Caron were assisted by the chaplain of the *Saint-Jean Baptiste*, Père Maurice, cordelier, whose skill in laying out fortifications is said to have been "as extensive as his knowledge of theology." In fact he was appointed '*Intendant de la Baye & Forts*.' ¹⁷

Meanwhile a Malabar Captain was sent by the Dutch Governor of Trincomalee under the guise of a Kandyan envoy a few days after the arrival of the French, to inform De La Haye that the King was at peace with the Dutch; ¹⁸ but the imposture did not succeed, and the French despatched "le sieur Desfontaines" ¹⁹ Brigadier of the Admiral's guard, with 'sieur d'Orgeray' ²⁰ de Harmes', and a Portuguese interpreter, ²¹ escorted by 18 soldiers on an embassy with presents to the King of Kandy to negotiate an alliance.

Meanwhile on 28th March three Dutch officers came on board the *Navarre* 'to express their satisfaction at seeing the French flag' and to inquire how long the fleet intended to remain. The Admiral informed them of his intention to build a French *établissement pour la Compagnie Française*. ²² The officers thereupon informed him that the bay belonged to the Dutch, ²³ and six days later the French Admiral received peremptory orders to quit the bay. A few days later two Frenchmen, who were in the Dutch garrison, came over to seek the protection of the French

15. He wrote to France that the Capuchins favoured the English and the Dutch, and asked for their removal from the French Comptours. Colbert's reply ended "Sa majesté serait bien aise d'apprendre que leur zèle ait produit votre conversion." Delort, 24.

16. Delort, 31.

17. *Relation*, 100-101.

18. *Hist. Gen. d. Voy.*

19. *Relation* gives his name so. According to Delort (31) "Cap. de Boistontaine."

20. So the *Relation*. Dargeret according to Delort.

21. A Tupasi from Mangalore, who decamped before reaching Kandy. *Rel.*, 101.

22. Delort, 32.

23. "His Excellency van Goens having received certain intelligence of the arrival of the French in the Bay of Trincomalee and of their landing there, consulted his Council as to the best means of dislodging them and defending the Company's property. They were unanimously of opinion that Trincomalee might legally be considered to belong to the kingdom of Jaffnapatan, and as it had never been under the control of the Sinhalese, and had been taken by the Company from the Portuguese, they were for defending it by force of arms against the invasion of the French." *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)* No. 38 (1889) xi, pp 68-9.

Admiral. The Governor demanded their return and De La Haye only handed the messenger a copy of the King's ordinance requiring all Frenchmen to return to the service of their country.

The deserters gave useful information to the Admiral. And news was received that the French envoys had been well received in Kandy. On 2nd May ²⁴ d'Orgeret returned from Kandy with four officers of the King and a numerous suite. Desfontaines "was so well received that he chose to stay."²⁵ The Kandyan ambassadors were two "grands Seigneurs ou Princes" of the kingdom who came at the head of 7,000 men, variously armed, and carrying flags on which were represented the Sun, Moon, Earth and Sky. They were received by Caron with great ceremony, and led to the fleet and conducted back in great state. But neither bite nor sup would they take on board though De La Haye pressed them. The presents they accepted.²⁶

On the 8th May a treaty was signed by the envoys, on behalf of the King of Kandy, and by Captain Beauregard on behalf of the French, giving to the French the Bays of Kottiar and Trincomalee already occupied by the Dutch.

A few days later the King sent 100 men to fell trees and assist the French in other ways. There was one thing which the Kandyans did not bring but promised to send though it never came, viz., provisions of which the French were badly in want. Le sieur de la Nerolle ²⁷ was accordingly sent to Kandy, and the *Phoenix*, *Breton* & *St. Louis* were despatched to the Coromandel coast in search of provisions.

On the 15th May the Dutch fleet entered the Bay and anchored near the fort of Trincomalee.

De La Haye sent Captain Beauregard to sound the dispositions of the Dutch Admiral. The Frenchman was received with cold ceremony.²⁸ And Van Goens in his turn sent his compliments with a notice to quit the Bay. De La Haye replied that he had entered it by fair means, and that it was given to the French by the King of Kandy and that if the Dutch wished for war they had only to declare it.²⁹ A rupture seemed imminent. The two sea dogs were watching each other, each trying to throw the responsibility of an outbreak of hostilities on the other. The Dutch fleet moved towards the bay of Kottiar on the 21st, and on the 24th. troops were despatched in the direction of point Breton. The French hastily sent reinforcements, but the Dutch withdrew.

On the 31st May the *Phoenix*, which had been sent to Tranquebar for provisions under Captain de la Milliniere, appeared in sight laden with provisions. The Dutch started in pursuit before the French espied it. When it was within shot the Dutch Admiral sent a captain on board the French ship to invite de la Milliniere to come and see the Admiral. The Frenchman refused to quit his ship and sent his Lieutenant, Ronval, who was detained by the Dutch. The *Phoenix* was now surrounded by four Dutch vessels without any chance of escape, but the Captain steadily declined to fight as he had no orders to do so, nor did he try to inform the French Admiral of his situation. The *Phoenix* was thus seized without a shot (31st May, 1772) and the crew taken prisoners. Among them was the writer of the *Journal*, who gives an account of the cruel treatment meted out to them. *L'Europe* (Cap. Desprez) returning with victuals from *Porte Nove* shared the same fate on 13th June, and

24. Delort, 32-3.

25. (Le Roy de Candy) "Iuy fit de si bons traitemens qu'il a bien voulu rester dans sa cour où il est encore aujourd'hui." *Relation*, 101. "An account of the French Embassy to the court of Kandy in 1685 (?) in the *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)* V p. 150 supposes that even de La Haye went to Kandy.

26. The *Relation* gives a long account of the reception of the King's envoys, 101-104.

27. The name is so given in the *Relation*; also in *Jour. C.B.R.A.S* V 155. He became "General de Lanerolle" who came to Ceylon "in charge of a fleet of 40 vessels with men and arms." *Id.* 150. The *Relation* describes him as a "homme d'esprit & de conduite, le quel ne fut pass recu moins favorablement que le premier, puisqu'il y est encore reste" IC5. Knox's account of his embassy is given below (Appendix.)

28. He was received "avec une hauteur qui etait presque de l'insolence." Delort, 23.

29. Delort, 33.

both vessels were dismantled. The *houcre Petit Saint-Louis* alone escaped. She was returning from Muzilapatam when the Dutch pursued her. The captain saw the French ships in the Dutch line and, suspecting the truth, turned and fled. The pursuers gave up the chase and were returning when De La Haye sent the *Triomphe* and the *Breton* which encountered the *Mirmand*, while the *Saint-Louis* joined the French line.³⁰

De la Haye and Caron now agreed to set sail with the whole fleet in search of provisions. Sickness had broken out and thinned the French ranks. The sick, who had been taken ashore, were now brought on board the *Sultane* which was transformed into a hospital ship, and preparations made for the departure. Captain Beauregard was despatched in *le Brabant* with letters, and on 9th July, 1672, the French fleet set sail. *Sieur de Lesborye*, *Père Maurice*, and *sieur Cloche* with 50 men and *le Saint-Jean Baptiste* were left in charge of the *Isle du Soleil*, *Isle de Caron*, and *la pointe Breton* with eight months' victuals.

No sooner had De La Haye left than the Dutch fell upon the French garrison. At first they attacked *sieur de Chancey* and a few cadets who were mounting guard below *pointe Breton*. One was killed and the others taken. A guard under de *Prizy* took their place, but were likewise attacked and overpowered. The Dutch then in great triumph sent 1,500 native troops to intimidate *Soleil* and *Caron*, but 'Matelin Cotiar, General of Tambergame'³¹ whom the king of Kandy had sent to the assistance of the French, met them at the passage of a rivulet and defeated them. The rout of the Dutch was so complete that their Vice-Admiral, *Saint Martin*, fled for his life bootless and horseless. This did not prevent

them from reducing the French garrison. *Père Maurice* was deputed to obtain terms, and the 46 men of the garrison surrendered,³² the Dutch undertaking to send them to Europe in 8 months.³³ The captives, together with the crew of the *Phoenix* & *l'Europe*, were distributed in the Dutch fleet, 14 in each ship, and taken from port to port to be exhibited as the miserable remnants of the French fleet.³⁴ The following are the terms of the capitulation:

"The articles of capitulation consisted of five chief points which the two nations mutually bound themselves to fulfil.

First that the French should evacuate the place with banners flying, drums beating, etc., with their arms and baggage, and that *sieur Riclof* (*van Goeus*) and his Council should be obliged to send them back to Europe within eight months.

Secondly that what belonged to the King, such as cannon, ammunition, and provisions, should remain on the island and be handed over to the Dutch.

Thirdly that the officers, sailors and soldiers who had been taken from the French either when breaking through our guard, or in capturing our ships, should likewise be sent to Europe within eight months, and that the ships should remain in the possession of the Dutch.

Fourthly that the native labourers and subjects of the King of Kandy who were in the service of the French should be treated as themselves. (But General *Riclof* kept them as surety for the Dutch whom the King of Candy detained for many years).

Fifthly that this treaty should be neither prejudicial to, nor militate against, the claims of the King to the East Indies, and especially to Trincomalee and its dependencies; and that the final decision should rest with his Majesty and the States of Holland³⁵.

(To be continued.)

30. This is described in detail in the *Relation*.

31. *Relation*.

32. A Dutch account has it: "The means taken for that purpose" (to dislodge the French) "by His Excellency were so effectual that in the same year 1672 [the fleet of] that nation was defeated, and through want and capitulation retired from the aforesaid bay." *Jour C.B.R.A.S.*, xi. 69. The words in brackets are misleading. There was no naval engagement.

33. *Relation*, 169.

34. So says the *Relation*, the writer of which gives a narrative of the cruelties to which the French were subjected.

35. *Relation*, 168-9.

APPENDIX—Knox, Pt. IV., Chapter xiv.

“Concerning the French.”

“About the year MDCLXII, or LXXIII, there came Fourteen Sail of great Ships from the King of *France*, to settle a Trade here. *Monsieur De la Haye* Admiral, put in with his Fleet, into the Port of *Cottiar*. From whence he sent up Three men by way of Embassy to the King of *Cande*. Whom he entertained very Nobly, and gave every one of them a Chain of Gold about their Necks, and a Sword all inlay'd with Silver, and a Gun. And afterwards sent one of them down to the Admiral with his Answer. Which encouraged him to send up others; that is, an Ambassador and six more. Who were to reside there till the return of the Fleet back again, being about to Sail to the Coast.

“To the Fleet the King sent all manner of Provision, as much as his Ability could afford; and not only permitted but assisted them to build a Fort in the Bay. Which they manned partly with their own people, and partly with *Chingulays*, whom the King sent and lent the *French*. But the Admiral finding that the King's Provisions, and what else could be bought in the Island would not suffice for so great a Fleet, was forced to depart for the Coast of *Coromandel*; promising the King, by the Ambassador afore-mentioned, speedily to return again. So leaving some of his Men with the King's Supplies to keep the Fort till his return, he weighed Anchor, and set sail. But never came back again. Some reported they were destroyed by a Storm, others by the *Dutch*. The Admiral had sent up to the King great Presents, but he would not presently receive them, that it might not seem as if he wanted anything, or were greedy of things brought him; but since the *French* returned not according to their promise, he scorned ever after to receive them. At first he neglected the Present out of State, and ever since out of Anger and Indignation. This *French* Fort at *Cottiar* was a little after easily taken by the *Dutch*.

“But to return to the Ambassador and his Retinue. He rode up from *Cottiar* on horseback, which was very Grand in that Countrey. And being with his Company gotten somewhat short of the City, was appointed there to stay, until an House should be prepared in the City for their Entertainment. When it was signified to him that their House was ready for their Reception, they were conducted forward by certain Noblemen sent by the King, carrying with them a Present for His Majesty. The

Ambassador came riding on Horseback into the City. Which the Noblemen observing, dissuaded him from, and advised him to walk on foot; telling him, it was not allowable, nor the Custom. But he, regarding them not, rode by the Palace Gate. It offended the King, but he took not much notice of it for the present.

“The Ambassador alighted at his Lodgings. Where he and his companions were nobly Entertained, Provisions sent them ready Dressed out of the King's Palace three times a day, great Plenty they had of all things the Countrey afforded. After some time the King sent to him to come to his Audience. In great State he was Conducted to the Court, accompanied with several of the Nobles that were sent to him. Coming thus to the Court in the Night, as it is the King's usual manner at that Season to send for foreign Ministers, and give them Audience, he waited there some small time, about two hours or less, the King not yet admitting him. Which he took in such great disdain, and for such an affront, that he was made to stay at all, much more so long, that he would tarry no longer but went towards his Lodging. Some about the Court observing this, would have stopped him by Elephants that stood in the Court; turning them before the Gate thro which he was to pass. But he would not so be stopped, but laid his hand upon his Sword, as if he meant to make his way by the Elephants; the People seeing his resolution called away the Elephants and let him pass.

“As soon as the King heard of it, he was highly displeased; insomuch that he commanded some of his Officers, that they should go and beat them, and clap them in Chains; which was immediately done to all excepting the two Gentlemen, that was first sent up by the Admiral; for these were not touched, the King reckoning they did not belong unto this Ambassador; neither were they now in his Company; excepting that one of them in the Combustion got a few Blows. They were likewise disarmed, and so have continued ever since. Upon this the Gentlemen, Attendants upon the Ambassador, made their Complaints to the Captain of their Guards, excusing themselves, and laying all the blame upon their Ambassador; urging *That they were his Attendants, and a Soldier must obey his Commander and go where he appoints him*. Which saying being told the King, he approved thereof, and

commanded them out of Chains, the Ambassador still remaining in them, and so continued for six Months. After which he was released of his Chains by means of the Intreaties of his own men made to the great Men in his behalf.

"The rest of the *French* men, seeing how the Ambassador's imprudent carriage had brought them to this misery, refuse any longer to dwell with him. And each of them by the King's Permission dwells by himself in the City; being maintained at the King's charge. Three of these, whose Names were *Monsieur Du Plessy*, Son to a Gentleman of note in France, and *Jean Bloom*, the third whose Name I can not tell, but was the Ambassador's Boy, the King appointed to look to his best Horse, kept in the Palace. This Horse sometime after died, as it is supposed of old Age. Which extremely troubled the King; and imagining they had been instrumental to his Death by their carelessness, he commanded two of them, *Monsieur Du Plessy* and *Jean Bloom* to be carried away into the Mountains, and kept Prisoners in Chains, where they remained when I came thence.

"The rest of them follow Employments; some whereof Still Rack and keep the greatest Taverns in the City.

"Lately, a little before I came from the Island; the King understanding the disagreements and differences that were still kept on foot betwixt the Ambassador and the rest of his Company, disliked it and used these means to make them Friends. He sent for them all,

the Ambassador and the rest, and told them, *That it was not seemly for Persons as they were at such a distance from their own Countrey, to quarrel and fall out; and that if they had any love for God, or the King of France, or himself, that they should go home with the Ambassador and agree and live together.* They went back together, not daring to disobey the King. And as soon as they were at home, the King sent a Banquet after them of Sweetmeats and Fruits to eat together. They did eat the King's Banquet, but it would not make the Reconcilement. For after they had done, each man went home and dwelt in their own Houses as they did before. It was thought that this carriage would offend the King, and that he would at least take away their Allowance. And it is probable before this time the King hath taken Vengeance on them. But the Ambassador's carriage is so imperious, that they would rather venture whatsoever might follow than be subject to him. And in this case I left them.

"Since my return to *England*, I presumed by a Letter to inform the *French* Ambassador then in *London* of the abovesaid Matters, thinking myself bound in Conscience and Christian Charity to do my endeavour, that their Friends knowing their Condition, may use means for their Deliverance.....The Ambassador upon the receipt of this " (the letter which is given), "desired to speak with me. Upon whom I waited, and he after some Speech with me told me that he would send word into *France* of it, and gave me Thanks for this my kindness to his Countreymen."

[Robert Knox. *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*. First edition, London, 1681, folio 183-186.]

MULLÉRIYÁWÉWEWA.

By G. E. WEERAKOON, MUDALIYAR, PRESIDENT, V.T.

[**I**NTRODUCTORY note by Mr. J. P. Lewis: The following account of the tank at Mullériyáwa and of the traditions connected with the locality was given me in 1912 by Mr. G. E. Weerakoon, late Mudaliyar of Wellaboda Pattu in the Matara Dis-

trict, and later President of a Gansabháwa in the Western Province. As I think all local traditions, in view of the fact that there is a constant tendency for them to die out, should be recorded, it is here printed. Any slight alterations that may have been made are merely verbal. J. P. L.]

The village of Mulleriyáwa lies five miles east of the Metropolis, in the Adikári Pattu of Héwágam Kóralé, a district notorious in history, as its name suggests, for scenes of bloodshed for ages together. Landing at Colombo, the foreigner was not unnaturally attracted by the prospect of the distant mountain of Adam's Peak, sacred to Hindus and Mohammedans as well as to Buddhists, as it appeared to him up the valley. When the Portuguese landed the ruler of Sitáwaka, which is now known as Avissáwella, soon got wind of their arrival, with the result that the two forces met somewhere between it and Colombo.

The traveller of pre-railway days, who proceeded to Ratnapura along the bank of the Kelani River or by the high road, will remember a tall chimney of the now defunct Brick and Tile Company, which stood on the bund in a line with the present school building by the roadside. The bund runs from north-west to south-east, a distance of about two miles, cutting off from the rest of the tank a portion which is called the Kudáwewa, half of which lies between the high level and low level roads which meet not far off, at Ambatale, near the 6th milestone from Colombo. The area of the tank is given as 880 acres, capable of irrigating an extensive tract of paddy fields. This tract is probably the Wellawela referred

to in *Parangi Haṭané* where Rája Sinha gave battle to the Portuguese. It is now chiefly planted land studded with buildings of every description.

This bund was intact and in some degree serviceable until long after the British occupation. It forms one of the numerous tanks scattered through the length and breadth of the Island which, restored or abandoned and in disorder, remain as evidence of Lanka's ancient glory. There are traces round about Cotta, of a number of smaller tanks, quite a network of them, which rendered the country fertile in general and facilitated the production of the staple article in particular. We are an agricultural people and it is still an agricultural age.

The construction of this tank is attributed to Bhuvaneka Báhu VII who reigned at Jayawardhanapura or Cotta, A.D. 1534-1542. According to the *Rájávaliya*, Rája Sinha had constructed an ancient anicut somewhere here. It was anything but a peaceful time for the former. Máyádunne, who is supposed to have superintended the construction of the tank, was reigning at Sitáwaka; and two other princes, Rayigam Baṇḍára and Jayawira Baṇḍára, at Rayigama and Gampola respectively. The Portuguese styled Bhuvaneka Báhu "the Emperor." They seem to have cherished rather lofty ideas of the Island, its

capabilities and its sovereign. Perhaps a story about them current among the Sinhalese helps to account for this. It has passed into a proverbial saying, "like the journey of the Portuguese from Co'ombo to Cotta." It is said that a party of Portuguese, starting to go to Cotta from Colombo, were taken round and round the country for the space of three months and three weeks before they reached it, though the distance is only six miles.

Bhuvaneka Báhu wished that his grandson should succeed him, but his brother Máyádunne objected to this arrangement, fortified Sitáwaka and challenged Bhuvaneka Báhu. The result was the defeat of Máyádunne by Bhuvaneka Báhu who had the assistance of the Portuguese; Máyádunne fled to Rayigam Bandára to obtain his help. At the same time he got together an army of "Marakkalayas," probably the army of Moors imported in the reign of Dharma Parákrama VII a quarter of a century before, or sons of theirs, and with some help from Rayigam Bandára, recovered Sitáwaka and destroyed several villages round Cotta. But the tables were soon turned on him. The Portuguese met him near Gurubewula, the present Hanwella, defeated him, burnt Sitáwaka and compelled him again to flee.

Meanwhile, in order to make his grandson's succession the more secure, Bhuvaneka Báhu caused a figure of his protégé to be made and sent to Portugal with the request that the King of Portugal should crown the statue. John III, who was delighted with the prospect of annexing the Spicy Island in the near future, gladly performed this ceremony, with great pomp, at Lisbon, at the same time having him christened by the name of Don Juan. This was in 1541.

Next year Bhuvaneka Báhu met a violent death by being accidentally shot by a Portuguese while walking along the river bank, and Don Juan succeeded him. He died in 1597 at Colombo, to which he had had to retire.

Meanwhile Máyádunne had been succeeded by his son Rája Sinha I, and on his accession the Portuguese made another attempt to recover Sitáwaka, with the result that Rája Sinha took the field, met the combined Portuguese and Sinhalese forces at Mulleriyáwewa and utterly defeated them, with the slaughter of 1,700 Portuguese soldiers alone. So that the soil of this neighbourhood is impregnated with the mould of many Portuguese.

Near the tank there is a "Máligágoḍella" (which tells its own tale), with traces of other buildings. The legend runs that successive attempts to construct the earth-work of the bund proved futile and every time it was washed away. The most treacherous spot, with a row of wooden posts of which the tops only are visible, is pointed out. Eventually the difficulty was surmounted and the solid work remained, but at the sacrifice of two human victims who had to be buried alive to propitiate the evil spirits who were supposed to have been retarding the progress of the earth-work. It was no other than two princesses of the royal house who were chosen for this sacrifice, and this is said to have been the origin of the devil ceremony known as "*Wēwēyakun*."

It suited the *yakaduras* to give out and to make the credulous people believe that the ill-fated princesses became *wēwē yakun* or "Devils of the Tank" thenceforward, and were ever ready to exact homage from their votaries. A peculiarity of this ceremony is that it is confined to the *Berawá* and *Roḍiyá* castes, and the explanation given is that in their dire extremity the unfortunate Princesses swore eternal enmity to their kith and kin, and out of revenge preferred to be served by the lowest castes. There is a Sinhalese Ballad on the subject consisting of twenty-four verses, and as this is probably the first time that attention has been directed to it, the text with a free translation, omitting trivialities and nonsense, is appended.

The Ballad.

The Translation.

1. ජයවර්ධන නිබ්බු
බුබුනෙක බාහු වැඩි
රජකරණ කල සො
කුමරියන් සත්දෙනෙක් ඇති සො
2. සෙනග බස අසම්
රජ අන රැගෙන විගසි
ඇමතියන් සමගි
යන්බ නික්මුණ වැව බදින විලසි
3. බැඳපු වැව කැඩෙම්
ඇඳපු පස් කඳු දියවෙම්
එ රජ ලදහසි
ඇවිත් යහනේ මුනිං සැතපෙම්
4. එද රැ සිහිනෙ
දේවතාවෙක් කියම්
දෙගොඩට බිලි දෙම්
බදුව වැකන්ද විගසි
5. සිත දුටු විගසි
නැතිව මහරජ යහනි
බිසවුන් නොකිය මි
සිතේ අදහස පටන් ගනිමි
6. බාල කුමරිය දෙදෙන
වැවට බිලිදෙන විලසි
කැඳවා ඒ දෙදෙන
රබිය ගොඩට නික්මු
7. දෙගොඩ වල කපම්
කැඳවා දෙදෙන සැනෙකි
සිතා සන්තොස වෙමි
වලේ සිටුවා එපස් ගසම්
8. වැවේ නොව දෙප
බිසවුන් දෙදෙන පස් ග
සත් දවසින් න
නැසී ගිය බිසවු නොල
9. සත් දවසින් එ බිසව නැති ග
යක් වෙසකින් වෙස්ගෙන ඉපදිග
සත්දෙන බිසවුන් සමගිව නොලසි
සත්දෙන අනපාමින් නොලසි
10. විසිතුරු වැව බලන ලෙස
සරසන රන් මරුවේ සි
පරසිදු රජ පවුල එහි
පදිනි මරුව වැව වටකො
11. බිලිදුන් ද පටන් ඒ වැ
යක්ගිරි දිවයින විලසි
නොදනිති මහරජ ඒ බ
සිතාසිසි පදිනි මරුව
12. වැව මැද මරු නැවති
පදිනි මරුව හදකර
ගොඩ නඟින්න බැරි එක
විපත බැවට සිහිකර

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1. Bhuvaneka Báhu who reigned at Jayawardhanapura had seven lovely princesses.¹

2. Yielding to the petitions of the people, he with his ministers set about the construction of the tank.

3. The bund was washed away and the tank collapsed, and in consequence the king lay prostrate on his face, took to his bed and refused to be comforted.

4. That night in a dream a *déwatawa* bade him arise and offer two human sacrifices if the bund was to hold.

5. The great king arose from sleep, and, without telling his dream even to the queen, lost no time in carrying out this behest.

6. Bent on propitiating the demon, he decoys two of the young princesses to Rabbiyagoda.

7. With laughter and exultation he digs a grave on each of the bunds, and buries the two princesses.

8. For seven days the two princesses lingered . . .

9. On the seventh day they became evil spirits of the Tank and the seven wielded sway together.

10. The royal family rowed about the tank in a decorated golden bark, admiring the magnificent tank.

11. From the day of the sacrifice, though the king knew it not and delighted to row about it, the tank became a pandemonium.

12. He wondered why the vessel stuck in the middle of the tank, and, though the boatmen rowed with all their might, never moved.

1. Mudaliyar Weerakoon remarks that "Here as in verse 6, the allusion to seven princesses or their spirits in connection with the name Rabbiyagoda (obviously a corruption of *Sat-isaw-goda* meaning 'hamlet of seven princesses'), suggests a much older legend." Without accepting this derivation, which seems to me somewhat far-fetched, the explanation is quite likely. The number seven is of course a stock property of legends, traditions, and folk-lore generally everywhere. See verses 9 and 23 also. J. P. L.

2. General Tyrrell, late Indian Army (says Mr. J. P. Lewis), writes a good deal on military history and other cognate subjects in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* and other periodicals.

"Do not think it is harmless although you have nursed the serpent by giving it milk."

Subhasitaya (Page 1, verse 6.)

එ බැ වි න් සෙබෙති විසතුනි බුණුසුක් පම ර
කිරි යෙ න් දියර වෙන්කළි හසමෙන් පත ර
ම වි සි න් කියන මේති වරදක් දුටත් හැ ර
සකොසින් අසව් පදරුන් විමසා ලැබී ර

"In like manner educated ones, just as the swan managed to choose milk when it was together with water, must try very much

to cheerfully understand the meaning of the words I am using."

All these books of Sinhalese Literature indicate the answer "yes" to the question raised by Mr. White.

[The above verses are more interesting than apposite. They bear no relevancy to the particular question raised by Mr. White and certainly do not disprove the correctness of the answer supplied by him. Ed., C. A.]

EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

REFERRING to my notes under this heading (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, pp. 47-8) which are preceded by a reference giving a wrong page—it should be "206" instead of "224."—I now send the further note on Edward Atkinson¹ which I promised.

Edward Atkinson :—In 1799 he was Military Paymaster at Colombo, having previously been Commissary of Grain and Provisions there. In February, 1800, he appears to have resigned—Mr. Turner somewhere, I think, says, but I have not just now been able to find where—that it was on account of irregularities or defalcations. He was succeeded by Captain Hugh Blair who had been Commissary of Grain and Provisions at Trincomalee.

Josias du Pre-Alexander :—So far as the records show, this official did not come to Ceylon until after Robert Andrews had left the Island, which he did in December, 1798. It was in February, 1799, that Alexander was appointed Deputy Commercial Resident, Colombo, but it is possible that he had been acting in that capacity in 1798, for there is a note of 1801 that his services had been lent by Lord Clive "three years ago," and they were to

continue until December, 1801, so that he may have arrived just as Andrews left. But, as a matter of fact, he left Ceylon in October, 1801, to become Assistant to the Collector of Customs, Madras. He was a nephew of James Alexander, first Earl of Caledon, and he became a member of Parliament. His daughter Eliza married Robert Holbeach Dolling of Magheralin, County Down, owner of important estates in that County, and became the mother of the late Rev. R. H. Dolling well-known in his day in ecclesiastical circles in England. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

It was Robert, not Josias, Alexander who was Andrews's assistant. His name first appears in connection with Ceylon in the *Jaffna Diary* for 1796, where is an entry under date March 6th, recording the arrival at the Pearl Fishery of

"Robert Andrews, Esq., Resident and Collector, and Robert Alexander, Esq., Assistant."

And another dated "Condaatje, 16th March, 1766" Robert Alexander is appointed Superintendent of the Pearl Fishery."

John Jervis (Andrew's other Assistant at Jaffna), was notified of this appointment by

1. The only Atkinson I can find mentioned in the C. A., 33; (the number of page given in the index, viz. 131, is incorrect.)

Vol. IV, index is "George Atkinson, Civil Engineer," on page

letter which he received on March 19th and which apparently took him completely by surprise, for it never seems to have occurred to him that, having become the renter of the Pearl Fishery for the year, it was quite impossible for him also to be the Superintendent on behalf of the Company. The result was somewhat heated correspondence between Andrews and Jervis and Jervis and Alexander, ending in Jervis's return to his station. Jervis wished to renounce his rentership, but Alexander replied that he had "no discretionary power to act in case of your Departing from Engagements which I have been taught to look upon as binding. The question must be referred to Mr. Andrews for his decision." Meanwhile Andrews directed Jervis to return to his station, and in the end Lord Hobart allowed Jervis to withdraw from his contract, but at the same time expressed his "sense of the Impropriety of his Conduct." There was nothing in this episode or in the management of the Fishery to throw discredit on either Andrews or Alexander.

The latter next year was appointed "Superintendent of Revenue, Galle," a post which he retained until 1799. On 25th December, 1803, he was appointed "President of the

Board of Revenue," Madras, but either he did not take up his new appointment for eight months (which, judging from Ceylon precedents now superseded, seems quite possible if it was a "fixed appointment"), or he paid another visit to the Island, for he certainly left Ceylon for Madras by the Government sloop *Gertruyda* on 25th August, 1804.

His subsequent career in the Company's service is not known to me nor does it particularly interest us in Ceylon, but it seems clear that he retained the confidence of the East India Company. Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.C.S., in a letter to me describes him rather scornfully as "one of the crew of Carnatic dubashes who were let loose on Ceylon," and adds a reminiscence of some interest. "Hammond, our Chief Secretary, remembers the old man reciting Tamil ballads to him as a boy." When he died I do not know.

Neither do I know whether Alexander spent the period 1800-1804 (August) in the Civil Service of Ceylon (and if so what posts he held), or in that of the Company in the Madras Presidency. Possibly some of the Ceylon or Madras contributors to the *Ceylon Antiquary* may be able to supply the information on these points.

CEYLON FOLKLORE, CUSTOMS, ETC.

By E. S. THOMAS.

[MR. E. S. THOMAS, of Cairo, sends the following note through Mr. O. Shelton Agar of Mount Temple, Gampola]:—

I have been reading some numbers of your interesting quarterly, and beg to offer the following remarks:

Folklore of Animals among Sinhalese and Tamils, (Vol. II, Part IV, April, 1917, p. 236): "The cobra, when about to make a

meal at night, ejects from its mouth a stone which gives out a bluish light."

The writer, Mr. J. P. Lewis, is reminded of Shakespeare's jewel in the head of a serpent, (but surely this was the toad?) and the implication is made that it is purely folklore. But I can remember reading an article in a Ceylon paper about 1890 in which the writer gave evidence to shew that some cobras did carry a luminous (phosphate) stone in its mouth

which, when laid down, attracted the male fireflies (the female being wingless) upon which the watching snake fed.

Customs and Ceremonies in the Jaffna district (p. 239) :—

Mr. Armugam refers to acts which the pregnant Hindu women is not allowed to do : among them, stopping holes in the wall or

floor with clay, making cakes, tying bundles, plaiting. "The idea," he says, "is to avoid hurting any insect which may be in the way."

But, surely, sympathetic magic is the fundamental idea : all these acts tend to constraint, and fixation, and consolidation—and hence all adverse to an easy delivery, and to be avoided. For similar examples cf. the *Golden Bough*, (Fraser), *passim*.

DUTCH TOBACCO BOXES.¹

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

ACCORDING to Mr. Thomas Grey of Colas, Buntingford, Herts, who has a collection of 40 Dutch Tobacco Boxes, there were five makers of these boxes :—

- (1). Jadcma of ?
- (2). Johan Heinrich Hamer of ?
- (3). Johan Heinrich Giese of Iserlohn.

- (4). Johan Heinrich Becker of Iserlohn.

- (5).

H. and W.	}	of Elberfeld.
D. and H.		

The occurrence in three out of the five instances of the names "Johan Heinrich" is a curious coincidence. I have myself come across the names (2), (3) and (4).

SOME SINHALESE "SUPERSTITIONS."

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

WHILE it is quite true that there is no *superstitious* (only respectful) feeling among the Sinhalese about mentioning the name of a parent to a third party (see *J. B. O. R. S.*, p. 549), there is no doubt, however, that there are certain other things, the names of which are "taboo" on purely superstitious grounds.

For instance, as regards certain creeping things, if we see a centipede in the house, we are cautioned against mentioning it by its name—"pattāya"—"lest it should escape on *hearing* its name pronounced," but are told to use some such expression as this : "Here's a

hundred-footer" or "Here goes a *string*," or any other intelligible expression, in fact anything at all except the name. The person who used the word "pattāya" on seeing one such was certain to be bitten by it sooner or later, at least so we are told.

Then, again, there is small-pox, the Sinhalese name for which is "vasūriya." But this word is never uttered in conversation. It is always referred to as "maha leda" ("great sickness.")

Certain villages (sacred to gods or devils) are also never referred to by their true names. I can't think of a Sinhalese village at the

1. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 197, and the Christmas Numbers of the *Times of Ceylon*, for 1916 and 1917.

moment—I have the names of two at least somewhere at the back of my head—but there is the Indian village of Aihar (in Dalman tahsil, Rái Baveli District, Oudh) which contains a temple dedicated to Baleswar Mahádeviyo. “The village is locally called Nuniágáon, it being considered unlucky to pronounce the true name of the place.” (W. Hunter, *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 111.)

Superstitions Connected with Plants.

“There are certain plants which bear fruits which have sometimes a bitter taste and on other occasions are quite pleasant to eat. Among these we have the ‘Dummélla’ (*Trichosanthes cucumerina*) and ‘Kékiri’ (*Zehenaria umbellata*). The popular belief is that the bitterness is felt if the name is pronounced before eating them. So people take special care not to pronounce the names of

these plants until they have partaken of the fruit.

“The same belief exists in regard to certain acrid plants such as ‘Habarala’ (*Alocasia macrorhiza*). There are several species of *Alocasia*, the yams of which are used as food. When cooked and eaten they generally produce a rasping sensation on the palate, owing to the presence of certain acrid properties. Some varieties are more acrid than others, but cultivation improves them a good deal, making them valuable food products. It is believed that the *Alocasia* yam, though it be from one of the worst varieties, will not give the rasping sensation if its name is not pronounced by the eater or any one in the eater’s hearing. As soon as the name is uttered the sensation comes on.” (C. B. R. A. S. *Journal*, Vol. XII, No. 42, p. 130).



Literary Register.

THE COLOMBO RACES OF 1854.

(Illustrated by the Late J. L. K. Vandort.)

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

(Concluded from Vol. V, Part II, Page 101).

THE second day's races opened with "The Turf Club Plate, 65 sovs. and sweepstakes 15 each," over a two mile course. The competitors were "Gazelle and O. K., riders and colours same as Derby." The race went to Gazelle, as the *Ceylon Times* says, "in the commonest cantering time, 4 min.



The Turf Club Plate.

4 sec." The two horses are shown, Gazelle leading. The horses running were our old friends Diphthong and Datura with a new comer

The second race was "The Garrison Stakes, 5 sovs. each with 35 sovs. added, 4 mile heats." The horses running were our old friends Diphthong and Datura with a new comer "Mr. E. Bainbrigge's ²¹ g.a.h. Nil Desperandum, aged —, black jacket, white cap." This



The Garrison Stakes—Coming in.

The Start for the Second Heat.

horse was the winner. The artist busied himself over "The 1st Heat, coming in" and "The 2nd Heat, Starting." The sketch of the latter subject is so minute in scale and so ethereal in

21. This was Lieutenant E. Bainbrigge, R. E., who was A.D.C. to Major-General Philip Bainbrigge, Commanding the Forces in Ceylon, probably his father. It was a brother of his, most likely Lieutenant A. Bainbrigge of the 13th Light Infantry, who was at the same time Military Secretary to the General.

form as to make it practically valueless for any other purpose than to show how little can be put into a sketch and yet enable it to retain its character as a sketch. It is in fact "very sketchy," the three horses are mere dots in the distance, but still they are horses, and the artist is meticulously careful to indicate by pointing lines which is which, so that at least we know in what order they faced the starter. Of what other race of sixty years ago in Ceylon.



**The Garrison
Stakes, 2nd
Heat.**

or in England can this be said? He also gives us a back view of this heat—again very small, with Datura last as he was in both heats.

Next came the "Give and Take Stakes, 5 sovs. each with 20 added," in 1 mile heats. It was a walk over for Mr. Walmsley's ^{22a} b.a.h. Collier, ²² black and white cap," and that nothing should be omitted we have him walking over, a pretty little sketch with black



**Give and Take
Stakes. Collier
W. O.**

horse and black jacket giving the keynote. A condition of the race, says the *Ceylon Times*, was that the winner should be sold for £70 if claimed.

According to the same paper the day's racing ended with "a scurry for $\frac{1}{2}$ mile heats £1 each, £5 given, Catch weights brought to the post," but Vandort does not seem to have waited to see this as he makes no note or sketch of it. Eight horses entered. The following are the names and results:—

Mr. Hew Hugo's ²³ g.a.h. Old Times ...	...1...1
Captain Bews' (n.s.) b. ch. Sir Arthur ...	...2...2
Captain Harrison's ²⁴ b. ch. Dandy Tim ...	...6...4
Mr. Fraser's c. c. b. m. Kathleen ...	...5...3
" b. Ans. h. Blucher ...	...3 dr.
Captain Boissier's ²⁵ g. a. h. Ghildsing ...	...4...5
Mr. Gubbins' ²⁶ b. h. Sir Eccles ...	...7...6
Mr. Cnrgenven's ²⁶ c. p. Micky Free ...	nowhere

The third day's races began with the race for the Governor's Cup, valued at 50 sovereigns, presented by H.E. Sir George Anderson, added to a sweepstakes of £10 each, $\frac{1}{2}$ for field. It was to be run over a two-mile course and was open to all horses. 9 stone 7 lbs., colonials 9 lbs. extra, English 14 lbs. extra, winners of Derby or Turf Club Plate of 1854, 5 lbs. extra. But only two horses entered, O.K. and Gazelle with "colours the same as for the Derby and Turf Club Plate." Vandort gives us a sketch



**The Governor's
Cup.**

of the cup, as "Silva Mudaliyar had obliged me with a sight of it." "Owing to some objection," says our artist, "made by the Governor to O. K. starting with Gazelle (having been beaten twice before by Gazelle), Captain Alwin got O. K. withdrawn, and Capt.

^{22A.} Lieutenant J. Walmsley was Adjutant of the 15th Regiment.

^{22B.} Collier too beat Harlequin and Diphthong on Wednesday for the Selling Stakes, but was third to Diphthong's second for the Grand Lottery Race on the last day of the Races. The *Times* correspondent gave us an instantaneous impression of this race which in some measure compensates us for the want of a sketch. "Dip is inside piloted by boy White senior, Collier next with boy White junior, and Gazelle outside with owner up." The Whites must have been Jockeys, White junior on Old Times "came clean away" at the Scurry on the final day.

^{23.} My idea is that "Mr. Hew Hugo" was Mr. Hew Stewart, editor of the *Ceylon Times*.

^{24.} Captain Harrison belonged to the 37th Regiment and married a sister of Sir William Twynam. He was at Galle with his company in 1857 and left with it for India when Sir Henry Despatched that regiment to help in the suppression of the Mutiny. He was in the action near Arrah in that year.

^{25.} Captain J. W. Boissier also belonged to the 37th Reg.

^{26.} Ensigns G. S. Gubbins and Samuel Lavalliere Cnrgenven were of the 37th Regiment. The latter was brother of Charles Richard Cnrgenven, C. C. S. He retired as a Captain and died in the Eighties.

Baker refused to walk Gazelle over alone, so that with all this fuss we would have had no start at all for the Cup, until at last Capt. Sewell cantered Gazelle over the 2 mile course, in his white-sleeved blue jacket and white cap



The Governor's
Cup, Gazelle w. o.

—behold him coming in," and sure enough here he is in his habit as he rode on that 6th of September, 1854. ²⁷

This and the two accounts, that of Vandort and the other of the *Ceylon Times*, are all that are left of the Governor's Cup of 1854. We forgot—there is the Cup itself which probably still exists somewhere. It is curious when one reflects that there should be some eighty or ninety of these trophies scattered about in England, though one never manages to come across one.

The second race was for the "Ladies' Purse, 30 sovereigns added to a sweepstake of 5 sovereigns each, $\frac{1}{2}$ forfeit, weight for age," one mile heats. Three horses entered.

Mr. A. C. White's (n. s.) Diphthong, Mr. Horling, black and crimson...	...1...1
Mr. Bainbrigge's g. a. h. Nil Desperandum, black, white cap ...	...0...2
Mr. Maule's ch. em. Gazelle, Captain Baker, blue and white stripes ...	... withdrawn

"The first was a dead heat, the *Examiner* says it is the first he has seen in Ceylon—in the second Nil Desperandum was pulled up half way, having burst a blood-vessel, he came in bleeding from his nose and mouth." There



Nil Dip

The Ladies' Purse, 1st Heat.

are two very animated sketches of the two



Dip Nil

The Ladies' Purse, 2nd Heat

heats. "It was only after some application of the leather that Nil equalled Dip in the first heat." And here the leather is being very vigorously applied by Mr. Bainbrigge, R. E., with the untoward result in the second heat that has already been related.

The *Times* says of the first heat.—"An exciting finish. With one cut of the whip Dip landed a winner by $\frac{3}{4}$ of a head," and of the second, "turning at the bottom Nil burst a blood-vessel which check occurred in the middle of a race just assuming the appearance of interest."

The time was—1st heat.....2 min. 1 sec.

2nd2 .. 4 ..

The third race, "Selling Stakes of 5 sovs. $\frac{1}{2}$ forfeit, with 15 added, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile heats," was between.—

Mr. Walmsley's b. a. h. Collier, 9 st. 11 lbs. black jacket, white cap (£50) ...	...1...1
Captain Sewell, Bews' l. n. s. w. g. Harlequin, Capt. Sewell 9 st. Captain Sewell, blue and white stripes (£50) ...	...2.. 2
Mr. A. C. White's b.a.h. Diphthong, 8 st. 5 lbs. black and crimson (£80) ..	... withdrawn

There appear to have been three heats. "First heat was dead level after a good race; second heat won by Collier after a good race" says the *Times*. But Vandort refers to two only,— "It was the same in both heats, Collier leading throughout."

In the sketch we see them coming in the second heat. Collier leading, and the blue and



Selling Stakes, Second Heat.
Collier winning.

²⁷ The *Times* correspondent remarks of this race: "Although the Caper would carry 9 lbs. less than the mare owners thought this not sufficient, so paid forfeit, the mare having previously run with 7 lbs. less."

white stripes of Captain Sewell just appearing over the black jacket and white cap of Mr. Walmsley.

Harlequin, Collier



Selling Stakes. The Pull up.

We also have the "Pull Up" in which sketch, though we only see their backs, it is plain that the Riders are strenuously engaged in that operation.

The time was—1st heat...1 min. 28½ secs.

2nd „ ...1 „ 31½ „

There was one more race on this day, a "handicap for all horses, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile heats, 1 sov. entrance, 10 sovs. added, second horse to recover 3 sovs. and stakes." It was won by Mr. Green's Australian horse Blucher ridden by Captain Baker, the second and third being Old Times, the winner of the Scurry Race, and Lall Sing. Mr. Fraser's ch. e. b. m. Kollben bolted. The second heat was run in the dark. This is the race denominated by Vandort "the Hack Stakes," and we have already seen a picture by him of the start for it. His illustrated chronicle of the Colombo Race Meeting of 1854 ends here. For any other pictures of Colombo Races we should probably have to jump half a century and look for modern photographs and perhaps not find even these. But as we have seen, there were two more days' races which Vandort does not seem to have attended, viz., those of Friday and Saturday.

The *Times* remarks of Wednesday's races.—"On the whole the sport was literally good. The first heat between Dip and Nil and the dead heat between Harlequin and Collier were warmly acknowledged and contributed greatly to the day's sport."

From the *Times* account we learn that on the fourth day, Friday the 8th, there were three events, viz: (1), a "Consolation Forced Handicap for all horses that have been beaten for the Derby, T.C. Plate or Governor's Cup"; (2) "the Welter Race for all horses"; and (3) "a Pony Race for all horses not exceeding 13 hands." On the "fifth day, Saturday," there were (1) a "Grand Lottery and Forced Handicap...for winners of the Derby, Turf Club Plate or Governor's Cup"; (2) "The Losing Handicap for all beaten horses;" and (3) "A Scurry...for all horses approved by the stewards." Of these we have already mentioned some of the results, and in the absence of sketches to make them more interesting, it is unnecessary to give more details than to record that at the Pony Race on Friday "Captain George White's pony won both heats easily to the chagrin of the supporters of the Great Mickie Free which preferred standing on his hind legs to racing," while Kate Kearney was just as contrary at the Scurry which closed the meet. She "was booked for this, but refusing to start until the others were away in both heats, gave the race to Old Times, which with White, junior, on her back came clean away."

With regard to the meet generally the same newspaper made the following concluding observations:—

"Thus ended a meeting which was crippled at the outset by the withdrawal of Garrogin and Rataplan owing to the promulgation of a rule which was arbitrary and unsportsmanlike." It seems that these horses were required "to carry the stone extra imposed on English horses." The *Times* further states that "The lateness of the monsoon had made the course heavy and dangerous to within three days of the race, when the weather improved and the first day was just the day for evening enjoyment, half sunny and half cloudy." We are told that "The stand was poorly attended and the visitors

were more numerous outside, who as usual crowded the course."

Curiously enough the Governor was anticipating an experience which his namesake and successor of sixty years later has recently had more than once, but which we are glad to hope and believe was not repeated during this year's Race Meet. "We regret the absence during the whole meeting of the Governor and Lady Anderson and family, more so when severe indisposition for some time had confined H. E. to his room and denied him the gaieties of the late Ball at Government House."

A correspondent calling himself 'Spectator,' who from his style of writing does not seem to have been an Englishman, in a long letter on the subject of the Races, states how "startled" he was to see "some Chetties or Malabars with their Turbans on their heads standing against the railings of the upstairs of

the Bungalow amongst the aristocracy of English ladies and gentlemen who occupied the place," and from this circumstance he is "enabled to draw the adage that 'money makes the mare to go, whether she has legs or no.'"

With the terseness of Tacitus, the *Times* correspondent, "Peep o' Day Boy" quaintly ends his account.—"This having chronicled for those up-country, the curtain falls."

It is in these sketches of horses and riders and of crowds—in fact of life generally—that in my opinion Vandort's *forte* chiefly lay. They were evidently a labour of love to him, for in this same letter he asks his Kandy correspondent to inform him "who won the Kandy Derby this year (with names and colours of horses and riders), particularly if any white legs or face, etc., I want to draw a picture." In his letter dated "Ascension Day, 1851," (May 29), there is a fancy portrait of the "Winner of the Cheroot Stakes coming



Kandy Races.
The Winner of the
Cheroot Stakes.



in" at the Kandy Races, and he informs his correspondent that "it is a truthful resemblance."

A "Fancy Sketch of the Kandy Derby" shows a very scraggy horse ridden by some Kandy celebrity of the time hard pressed by an elephant²⁸ under the whip or goad of a bearded jockey who looks like the Diwa

Nilame of the day in an unfamiliar disguise, followed by a wild boar and a jackal or pariah dog with villager jockies up, a riderless buffalo and a nondescript animal which may be a mule whose jockey looks as if he were intended for some well-known personage. The Peradeniya Grand Stand is in the background, the hill on the summit of which it stands crowded with spectators wild with excitement.

28. There was a substratum of fact in this, for at the Kandy Races of May, 1851, at which Vandort seems to have been present, there was a race in three heats for elephants. It was won by Madugalla Ratamahatmaya's elephant, Kaloowa, the other elephants which ran being Abaranee, Gomeree and Bulatgamee. Possibly the "Elephant Race" was an annual event for some time at the Kandy Races.



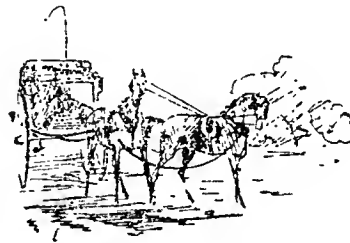
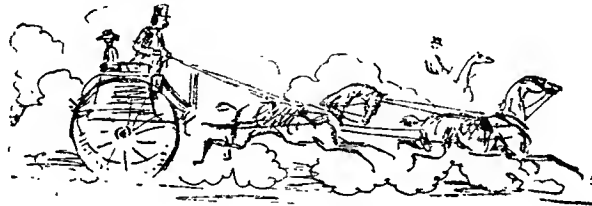
The Peradeniya Race Course.

His journal of the Colombo Races has the initial letter of the first word decorated with a sketch of the Peradeniya Race Course—showing the grand-stand with the peak of Hantane in the background. There is a loose

sketch of a horse that did not compete at the Colombo Meet—"Mr. Lourens's Wahabee." It



s perhaps the owner—not in riding or racing costume, but with coat-tails flying though his tall hat still "*coronat opus*"—that is bestriding this steed.



Captain Romer's Tandem.

On a "scrap of paper" are three dainty little sketches of "Captain Romer's Tandem" with Captain Romer in a tall-hat handling the ribbons.

He is good too at faces and costumes. In this last letter he remarks that "the

Moustachio Movement is progressing rapidly here—our brave old Major Lushington,²⁹ Green (nicknamed 'Bombastes' by Bailey of ours) and numerous others. Some of the 37th look funny with enormous Irish countenances and thick bristly lips—behold the accompanying portraits." There are portraits of Lieute-

29. Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Lushington, C.B., 37th Foot, who was a son of Sir Henry Lushington, Bart. of Aspeden Hall, Herts, had been posted from the 9th to the 37th Foot in 1848, and at this time had just been promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in the Scots Fusilier Guards, now the Scots Guards. Vandort says in his letter of 29th July: "Our famous Major Lushington is made Lieutenant-Colonel," but he is incorrect in describing him under his sketch of him as of the "Royal Scots Fusiliers." He also says that he was just "off to the Wars." He was a son-in-law of Major-General Bainbrigge, having married, on 7th June, 1853, at Kandy, Anne Dohree, the General's eldest daughter. While Mr. Simms was absent on leave in 1852, he acted as Surveyor-General, hence Vandort's reference to "our famous Major." He was of family represented in Ceylon by the Chief Justice of 110 years ago and by several members since, up to the present date.

nant-Colonels Lushington and Brunker,³⁰ of Mr. William Skeen,³¹ of a private of the 37th Regiment, of Corporal Robertson, Bombardier Brown and Driver 'Snooks,' all with whiskers or moustaches, evidently a novelty at this time even in the case of the military.

There is only one thing that does not change with the ever-changing fashions, the costume of a gentleman rider or jockey, which is practically the same now as it was sixty years ago and more.

The Moustachio Movement.



Lt.-Col. F.
Lushington, C.B.



Mr. W. Skeen.



Lt.-Col. Brunker.



A Private of the 37th



Bombardier
Brown, R.A.



Gunner and Driver
Snooks, R.A.



Corporal
Robertson.



A Gentleman Rider of the 'Fifties.

20. Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Brunker belonged, not to the Royal Engineers, as stated by Vandort, but to the 15th Foot. He was Deputy Adjutant General.

31. William Skeen was Government Printer and Author of the monograph on *Adam's Peak*.

His work at the Surveyor-General's Office, no doubt, helped to foster Vandort's love of drawing, and so probably did the spirit of emulation, for he was not the only amateur artist in that department. He says in one of his letters "Old Braybrooke³² is made Colonel, his son the surveyor is at present working with us. I have lots of his pencil sketches which he leaves on his table in the evening." There is a curious account of the appearances and idiosyncrasies of a surveyor of this name in William Boyd's *Autobiography of a Periya Durai*. "Mr. Braybrooke was an extraordinary figure of a man. He was exactly, when he had a low-crowned pith hat on his head, the shape of a boy's humming top. I think I have seen such a figure among the caricatures in '*Hood's Own*,' but the surveyor was the only living man whom I saw having this resemblance. Mr. Braybrooke was a very tall and corpulent man, yet at his widest girth, which was some-

where about the neighbourhood of his shoulders, he was almost as broad as he was long." (*Autobiography*, p. 141). This description reminds one of Captain Alley of the schooner *Dream*, who was well-known in Colombo in the 'Forties and who died there in April, 1847. He "weighed 400 pounds," or 28 stone 8 lbs. It was told of him that on one occasion, though he was physically able to get into a carriage, his excessive stoutness effectually prevented him from passing through the door. A lady once offered him a lift, and seeing his difficulty suggested that he get in sideways. "I wish you would tell me," he replied, "on which side my side lies—don't you see I am quite round?"

Vandort must have made a sketch of Mr. Braybrooke, but unfortunately it is not forthcoming. There are, however, some other sketches of his extant besides these of the Colombo Races, and these may be reproduced in a future issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary*.



32. Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Braybrooke joined the 1st Ceylon Regiment in 1816, and was in command of the Ceylon Rifles in the 'Fifties. He died a Major-General.

C. H. S. Braybrooke was appointed an Assistant Surveyor in 1851. Boyd's surveyor was surveying crown land in the 'Forties, and his employment in this way very likely led to his being appointed permanently to the Department. But Lieutenant J. F. Braybrooke of the Ceylon Rifles, who I imagine was a brother of the Colonel, seems also to have been connected with the Department, and he may be the surveyor described in the '*Autobiography*.'

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and

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Part IV.

MORE ABOUT MAJOR DAVIE¹

I. By Miss VIOLET M. METHLEY, F. R. HIST. S.



Two more Long Letters.

FURTHER research in the C. O. papers at the Public Record Office has brought to light two more long letters from Major Adam Davie,—letters which come like a poignant echo of the tragedy of that terrible June day of 1803. It is only copies which are preserved amongst the records, but these are duly attested and sworn by Capt. Clement Edwards, Military Secretary to the Governor, who adds a few notes on his account.

The copy of the first letter in place, though not in date,² is prefaced by the following remarks.

"How many of you? Your name? Their names? Circumstances?"

These questions were put upon a slip of paper by Sir Thomas Maitland and sent into the Kandyan territories, enclosed in a quill,—to which the following answer was returned."

The first Letter.

Karaliada, November. 1805.

None that I know of, but myself, Major Adam Davie, the rest all murdered, dead or starved to death. Am at Karaliada, about ten miles east from Kandi, north side of the river, without meat, or clothes to cover me.

Let not my friends know that I am alive, as I expect not to survive many days. I have done my duty to Country, but it has not done so to me. After tamely allowing for two years and a half such cruel murders to pass unavenged, I can scarcely expect my countrymen will ever come. But, if they should, I shall only say, five hundred men are more than sufficient for the subjugation of this country. Touch not at Kandi, but to destroy it. One half of your Army ought to occupy the open ground about Domboor, the other half hills clear of wood about a mile westward from Hangourankette, and send out parties of fifty in every direction to burn or destroy.

I have everywhere disseminated, at the risk of my life, the advantages of being under the English Government, and have reason to think numbers will join. Rascals as they are, their sufferings are so great, I cannot help pitying them. Could I get from this country, I might be of much service and I think it might be done by sending a hundred men from Geriagamme. The Bearer is now acquainted with the road.

1. For previous references to Major Davie, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, Part IV, pages 178-182.

2. Note by Mr. J. P. Lewis :—This must be the letter referred to by Cordner (*Description of Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 216).—"Major Davie . . . is so closely watched, that it is very difficult to hold any communication with him. General Maitland, however, lately contrived to convey a letter to him, to which he returned an answer, written with a pencil on a small slip of paper, both of which were sent him from Colombo. The Major is in good health, but as may naturally be supposed, extremely impatient under his confinement. In every proposal of accommodation, his release has been demanded as a primary and indispensable article. The two other officers are dead."

The letters of which copies have now been published correspond exactly with the description "extremely impatient, but the impatience was only natural. Sir Thomas Maitland had only been six months in Ceylon when these letters were received, so I think it is clear that he had lost no time in taking steps to get into communication with Davie, and though he was not the sort of man to say much, that he intended to do everything he could to obtain his deliverance from captivity. Neither was "King Tom" likely to adopt Governor North's views on any subject. Cordner had left Ceylon nine months before Maitland's arrival, but must have received this information from some of his old friends on the spot.

From these letters, too, we learn the exact locality where Davie spent the first part of his captivity. Karaliyadda is in Palispattu East, Lower Dumbara. Lawrie has the following note regarding it. "There is a ho-tree, dāgoba, vihāre, and pansala. Within the vihāre grounds stood the residence of the elder sister of King Rāja Sinha, whom the people tried to drive away by polluting the water of her well; she got water from Kumbaloluwa: when the people of that place interrupted the water, they were driven from the village and sent to Hanwella and replaced by Tom-tom Beaters." [The accounts of Hanwella, Upper Dumbara, and Hanwella, Matale District, in the *Gazetteer*, do not refer to the incident.]

It is not clear which King is meant; the last four Kings all bore the name "Rāja Sinha" as their second name, but I suppose that the compiler of the "*Gazetteer of Kandy*" did not mean any of them, but one of the two Rāja Sinhas who bore it as their principal name; and further that Rāja Sinha II is meant—the *dénouement* sounds like what he would have done under the circumstances. It seems that Karaliyadda as a convenient residence for relatives or prisoners more than once attracted the attention of the Kings of Kandy.

It is to be hoped that the originals of these letters may some day be discovered in the Record or Colonial Office.
J. P. Lewis.

Let not the least confidence be placed in the Adigars, either first or second. I am told, and have every reason to believe, I am to be murdered on my countrymen coming to Kandi. The Bearer could easily get me from this by moonlight, with a very few men. Reward the Bearer well : a pair of shoes will be necessary.

A. DAVIE.

To the other and longer letter, Captain Edwards adds the following note. "The original of the following copy appears to have been kept long for the purpose of sending it, but he never could find an opportunity. It was written upon a half sheet of paper, containing a plan of Kandi, taken by Captain Vilant³ of the 19th Regiment. March 1803."

The Second Letter.

Karaliada. North side of the Kandian River. East from Kandi about ten miles, and Doomboor, nine. May, 1805.

Great God, what can have happened to my country, that for near two years has allowed herself to be insulted, tricked in the person of the Governor, and her officers and men to be inhumanly murdered and the few survivors starved to death.

I am now the only one that I know of left alive. Am I then doomed to misery for doing my duty to my Country more than in duty bound to do? I sometimes am led to imagine War the occasion of delay, but when I reflect how soon she overthrew Tippoo and the spirited part she took against the Northern powers, when exhausted with a long war, I am lost in Conjecture.

I have been for these some days past sick with despair and want of food and do not expect to live many days. May I therefore beg of you, when you receive this, to write to my Father, that he need not blush for his son, assure him that what man could do, I did, but that my country rewards me by allowing me to fall a Sacrifice. This, too, against a cowardly enemy, without soldiers, without forts, without resources of any kind, and against whom little preparation is necessary, for with 100 men (not Malays) I would bid defiance to the whole Kandian force, as long as we had meat to eat.

Nothing but the expectation of my countrymen coming and the hopes of Escape has kept me alive so long, under sufferings unequalled by mortal man. I have tried the latter often, but have been detected and lately been prevented by the cowardice of my servant, from whom I have received every insult in the power of Tongue to tell and whose wish is my death.

I wrote a letter some time ago, mentioning that by sending a hundred light troops, I might be easily carried off, from this, but it is now too late. A long—a last adieu, my dear friends,—I know the character of the Absent is always attacked, but you may with Truth and Honour defend mine; it is the last Request of your unfortunate Friend, Adam Davie to Alexander Wood and Robert Boyd, Esq., Colombo.

As I would wish to serve my Country with my last breath, you may tell the Governor that, should he send troops into this Country, to occupy the open ground near Doomboor with one body, and the hills a little to the westward of Hangourankette with the other, and sending out detachments of fifty men in every direction, with orders to burn and destroy the houses. This will soon make the people join and give information where the

3. This Captain Alexander Blackwood Vilant, of the 19th Regt., was with the advance-guard who entered Kandy in the spring of 1803, but left before the *débâcle* of June. He was evidently somewhat of a draughtsman, as, in the account of the Embassy to Kandy in 1800, Captain Vilant is mentioned as having executed lightning sketches of some of the Kandyan Chiefs.

King is. For it is not by staying quiet at Kandi or sending a party to Hangourankette for a day that any good can be done.

The people here say : ' How could we join you at Kandi, when surrounded by the King's people, and allow our families to be murdered ? ' The King instead of pleasing his people is, by his Treatment of them, driving them to desperation. They are calling aloud for the English or French to come to relieve them from their misery, which is truly great. But there is no dependance to be placed on such Rascals. I hope the Governor will not this time allow the Troops to be puppetted about, to their destruction, by following the advice of the Adigars. The First Adigar is the Person that did everything at Kandi. The night before the attack, he sent me a friendly letter to blind, and, in the morning, was the person that conducted it. It was at his desire, also, that the Malays so basely and treacherously left us to be murdered.

These two letters were sent to London by 1805. In the covering despatch, his only Sir Thomas Maitland on November 22nd. comment upon them is as follows :—

Governor Maitland's Comment.

" From the first of my arrival here, I was extremely anxious to come to a certainty about the fate of our unfortunate prisoners and after several attempts, with a great deal of Trouble and some expense, I have forced my way to Major Davie, with whom I am now in correspondence. I enclose two letters I received from him last week : they are curious in themselves and interesting in some points, particularly in regard to the conduct of the Malays, whom I have ever considered, as your Lordship knows, a most dangerous set of men to employ as soldiers : a point which must now be put out of all doubt by these letters."

There is no pity here : no signs of any intention, or even of any wish, to respond to

that heart-broken appeal to attempt to rescue Davie from his ghastly situation.

It is, of course, perfectly true that reasons of State policy prevented the release or exchange of Davie : at least, strong arguments can be brought forward in support of this theory. But one would almost have expected some show of sympathy from Maitland : something more than a rather self-satisfied gratification in the corroboration of his own views on Malays as soldiers !

The fact is, the Government policy had been already settled ; Adam Davie was to be a scapegoat,—as he himself puts it, a sacrifice—and, as such, any defence of his conduct was to be disregarded, even when that defence was made by himself.

II. By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)

Further Interesting Information.

The following copy of a report made about Major Davie was obtained by Miss V. M. Methley from members of the family. She writes : "It was evidently sent to Davie's relatives at the time and contains some most interesting particulars."

The writer was Major Donald Mackay, of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment, who, at the time he wrote it, was Commandant of Kandy, and though it is not dated, internal evidence shows

that this must have been in 1815. Major Mackay had been in command of the 5th Division which advanced from Trincomalee in the Kandyan Expedition of 1815, and my impression is that he was the first Commandant of Kandy. He was succeeded in 1816 by Major Richard Kelly of the same regiment; and became Lieut.-Colonel. The 3rd Ceylon Regiment was reduced in 1816, and Colonel Mackay probably then went on half pay. It

is very interesting to learn the names of the Dumbara village and the locality in Kandy where Davie resided, but I am not in a position to identify either "Govenogodda" or "Astrianga," though the latter must have been on the borders of some small *deniya* (*anga*.) Perhaps some Ceylon readers can.

"The two Kandian headmen who had been at Madras" were Migastenne junior, Disáva of Sabaragamuwa, and Denegomuwe Disáva of Tamankaduwa.

Where were the troops quartered at Kandy in 1815? If this is known we can arrive at some definite idea as to where Davie was buried. My impression is that the troops were encamped on Castle Hill and at the Malwatta monastery. If so Captain De Bussche's statement as to the site of the grave is corroborated—"on the south of the upper lake and in an isolated valley." It was somewhere near where Harambe House or Florence Villa now stands. He is also borne out by these notes in his remark that "a monument is to be erected to his memory."

It seems that there was every intention to raise this monument and that it was only waiting for the completion of the church and burying ground "now preparing." But the delay was fatal at this stage to the former project, and the scheme of building a church was not undertaken for 30 years. By this time the memorial was forgotten—such is the way of the world. Perhaps, however, Davie's remains were removed to the Garrison Burial Ground, under One Tree Hill, where Capt. MacGlashan was buried nearly three years later, but there is no record of it.

The other pathetic relics of him—the MS and the epaulettes—doubtless perished with Muttal Sami in whose garden at Kandy Davie used to sojourn on his visits to the capital,—the "Astrianga."

Since a reproduction of the miniature of Major Davie first appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*,⁴ other Davie relics have come to

light in England—a lock of his hair, another of that of his *fiancée*, Miss Marion (or Marian) Nicol, and a letter written in 1831 to one of his sisters, which is here printed. As Miss Methley remarks, it does not contain anything "particularly interesting, except that it proves that Major Davie's *fiancée* was a lifelong friend of his sisters and survived him for many years".....Miss Methley adds: "She never married, and the letter was to be sent, *after her* death, to Mrs. Loft with the locks of hair, the miniature of Davie and a certain 'black dress' (probably her mourning for the Major). This lock of hair is a rich deep chestnut colour—far darker than that in the miniature which had probably faded. It still has remains of powder in it."

Copy of Letter

My Dear Mrs. Loft:—

As a proof of the great regard I had for your amiable mother (who was one of my dearest friends), as well as the love I have for yourself, at my death, it is my particular wish and desire that the miniature attached to this note be sent to you: if you are no more I wish it to be sent to your sister, Miss Martin.

The miniature is one of your uncle, Major Adam Davie, of the Malay Regt., Ceylon, son of your grandfather, John Davie, Esqre. of Broherston.

MARION NICOL,
to MRS. MARGARET THOMAS,

Capel Loft.

Elkington's Cottage.

Near Louth, Lincs.

20 Dec. 1831.

Information taken by Major Mackay, Commandant of Kandy, by order of His Excellency Lieut-General Brownrigg, relative to the late Major Davie, a prisoner in Kandy since 1803.

Krishnania, a native of Tanjore, but residing for the last twelve years in Kandy, states that he came to Kandy with two

4. It is reproduced once again in the present issue—see Page 165.

Kandian Headmen, who had been at Madras, and after the death of the Dessave, to whom he attached himself, he received a small pension of two Pagodas from the King: that he has been employed in trading from the coast to this place and occasionally to Colombo. That he knew the late Major Davie and attended him in his last illness, that he occasionally supplied him with wine, arrack, biscuit, and such small articles as could be procured, and even dressed his victuals: that for these attentions the Major was kind and liberal to him, that previous to the Major's death, he gave the Informant thirty Pagodas, a ring and a silver belt. (*Pencil Note* . The ring and belt have been disposed of.)

That previous to Major Davie's death he offered the Informant a certificate, by the production of which at Colombo he would be handsomely rewarded, but this act of his kindness the Informant was afraid of availing himself of, as three persons who have been detected by the King in doing acts of kindness to the Major had been put to death. That, after Major Davie's death, this Informant, with two persons whom he got to assist him, removed the body from the house where he died and buried it by night at the bottom of the hill, which runs parallel to the street where the troops are now quartered, and which he will point out. (This ground has been pointed out.)

Q. Had Major Davie any servant of his own ?

A. No, he had not.

Q. How did the Major obtain the money he is stated to have had ?

A. From the King. The King gave him money in gold mohurs, Pagodas and rupees at different times. The King also assigned servants to Major Davie, but when he became very ill, they left him.

Q. What was the usual place of Major Davie's residence while living ?

A. At Govenogodda in Dombra and lately in Astrianga St. in Kandy.

Q. What were his occupations and who were his associates ?

A. He had no occupation: he had a small book which he read continually, and sometimes he walked out. He had servants, but no associates.

Q. In what dress did he appear ?

A. He dressed in trowsers, a shirt and jacket, neckcloth, everything usually worn by a European, except shoes. He occasionally wore uniform, with two epaulets, which were given at his death to Naran Appoo, Commandant, now a prisoner at Colombo.

Q. Did he leave any written papers behind ?

A. Major Davie wore a banian or under waistcoat next his skin : in these were many papers, sewed up, rolled round with thread. These, with the remainder of his property, were taken before the King by Mootal Sawmy: he knows not what became of them afterwards.

Q. What was the period of his death ?

A. About two years ago, or two years and two months. Not more. This question being repeated, the Informant says that he cannot be positive, but his belief is that it is not more than two years and a few months.

Q. Was the Major under any restraint after his return from Dombra : could he walk out if his health permitted ?

A. Major Davie was brought from Dombra in a close or covered palanqueen : he was brought in by night and put under charge of Mootal Sawmy : the doctor only was permitted to see him.

Q. How was it that you were permitted to see and serve him ?

A. I was at Mootal Sawmy's service at the time, and permitted to do him service.

Q. Did Mootal Sawmy take possession of all Major Davie's property for himself or for the King ?

A. Witness is not certain; he was told for the King.

Q. Are there any persons buried at the same place, and who ?

A. None but Major Davie ; a Malabar in the King's service and a boy of the Informant buried him there.

Q. What became of the book Major Davie used to read so much ?

A. It was also taken by Mootal Sawmy.

Q. Did he ever dress himself in the Kandian Fashion ?

A. No. He used to eat Beetle Nut. That was the only Kandian custom he adopted.

(Signed) DONALD MACKAY.

Major. 3rd Ceylon Regiment.

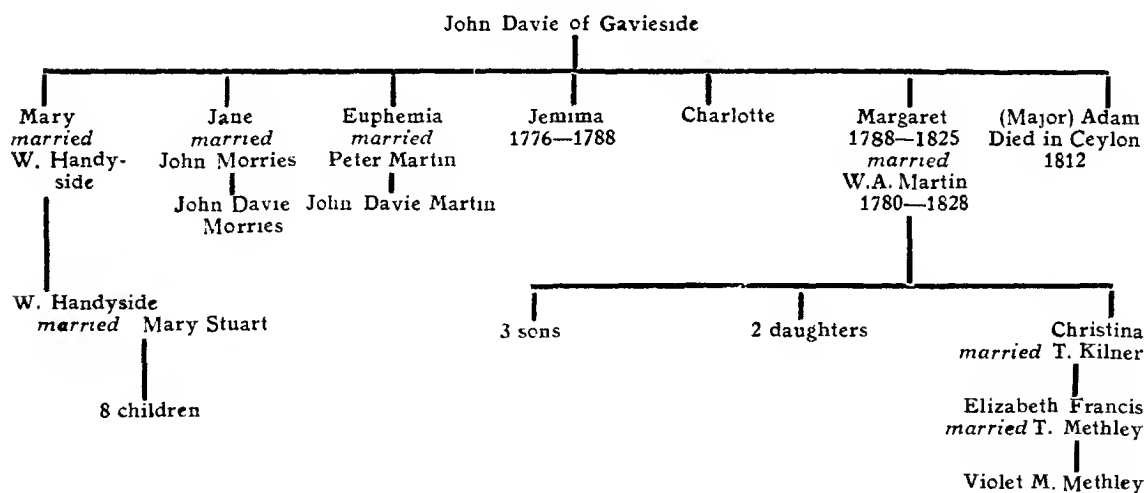
The Officer who received all the above information received at the same time instructions to raise a monument to the memory of Major Davie, a duty that has been delayed till the church and burying-ground, now preparing in the new British Lines. is ready, and consecrated, when it is intended to remove the Major's remains to the consecrated ground and then to erect the monument.

(Signed) D. MACKAY.

A True copy taken from the original.

(Signed) A. B. BOYD.

APPENDIX.



THE FORGOTTEN COINAGE OF THE KINGS OF JAFFNA.

By REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

TO many it would sound preposterous to say that the Sinkai Ariya Chakkaravartis of Jaffna had, at any time, a separate coinage in the North of Ceylon. The present writer did not suspect it either, until a casual remark made to him by Mudaliyar C. Rasanáyagam of the District Court, Jaffna, about the possibility of the so-called 'Sétu' coins having been a Jaffna currency led him to obtain evidence which goes a good way to establish this interesting fact so long forgotten.


Getting the scent, so to say, I started coin-hunting and was fortunate enough, in a short time and without much trouble, to secure more than seventy *Sétus*, mostly in the neighbourhood of my own dwelling at Nallur. This ancient capital of the North, no doubt, abounded in these copper coins at one time. For, potfulls of them have been unearthed from time to time within the radius of a mile from the site of the palace of the Ariya Chakkaravartis.

At Kópay (which, too, possessed a fortress of the kings),¹ at Mánippáy and Navály also, similar finds were made. Of course, the fortunate discoverers of these ancient hoards took good care to sell them out at once to goldsmiths and brass-founders to be melted down. Still, many specimens of them are to be found here and there in the hands of the above artisans and, curiously enough, native physicians who prize them for the reputed high quality of their metal. Hawkers, too, consider it good luck to carry about old coins such as these in their baskets. A

good number of specimens were picked up in a compound over against the Chaddanátar temple, Nallur. My collection represents over twenty issues, and as kindly arranged for me by Mr. H. W. Codrington C.C.S., (whom I had consulted, not being a numismatist myself), falls into two distinct classes.

The general features of the *Sétus*, which so far have been found to be in copper only, are :—

(1) The conventional figure of a man (the king?), with one or two lamps (*kuttu vilakku*), trident &c, usually on the obverse, and

(2) The recumbent bull (Vrishabha or Nandi) with the crescent and the legend  (Sétu) usually on the reverse.

The bull, the crescent and the trident in combination are clearly Saivite emblems. The lamps may well represent Lankà, as some have suggested, while the turn-out of the coins on the whole very much resembles the well-known copper issues of Ceylon. The *prima facie* impression created by these features combined with the Tamil characters of the legend is that the coins belong to a line of Saivite Tamil kings ruling in Ceylon. The legend itself—the word 'Sétu'—however would, *prima facie* also, induce one to connect them with the Setupatis or rulers of Ramnad. But there is a fact which fatally militates against this second impression.

When we examine the coins paleographically and with reference to the technique of their workmanship, the earlier ones of the

1. See my article on this subject in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 194.

series will be found to belong, at the latest, to the end of the thirteenth century A.D., while the later ones cannot be later than the sixteenth century. On the other hand the Setupatis of Ramnad emerge from their obscurity as Marava chieftains, now under the Cholas, now under the Pandiyas, to become independent rulers only in the beginning of the seventeenth century. According to Sewell's *List of South Indian Antiquities*, Sadaiakka Tévar Udayār was the first in the line of Setupatis and ruled from 1604 to 1621. This writer, indeed, mentions that Ramnad had a coinage of its own under this line (and we shall refer to it presently): but there is no indication whatever of a separate coinage there before the days of the first Setupati. This fact compels us to look for the provenance of Sétu coins in some other quarter.

I am aware that the latest (?) writer on the coins of Ramnad—these invariably bear the legend செதுபதி (*Sétupati*)—ascribes the Sétu also to that kingdom. The Revd. J. E. Tracy has, however, left in the contrast drawn by him between the Sétu-marked series and the Sétupati-marked series, a strong argument in favour of my contention. He writes: "The coins [of Ramnad] divide themselves into an earlier and a later series which are quite distinct from one another. The earlier series of coins present specimens which are usually larger and better executed and correspond in weight and appearance very nearly to the well-known coins of the Sinhalese series together with which they are often found. Rhys Davids says: 'These coins are probably the very ones referred to as having been struck by Parākrama's general Lankapura at செது.'³ They are of two sizes corresponding somewhat irregularly to the *massa* and half-*massa* of the above series and are uniformly of copper or bronze, neither gold nor silver specimens having been brought to light thus far.

"The coins of the later series, also of copper only, are uniformly small and very rude in device and execution. The one face in those figured [by the writer] always show only the Tamil letters of the word Setupati, while the other side is taken up with one or another of the various devices of hidden import. A few coins in corresponding size in the collection of Captain Tuicill also bear the same word in Nāgari on one side and on the other sometimes the figure of a god (Hanumān or Garuda usually) and on others that of an animal. Those, however, in both characters are like the earlier series in being of two sizes, the larger size weighing about about 60 grains and the smaller about 38 grains."⁴

The *Sétus* and the *Sétupatis* are "quite distinct from one another" says this writer, and he assigns the *Sétus* to "about the eleventh or twelfth century," while he places the *Sétupatis* at "an earlier time of confusion and decline which lies between the period when Sinhalese re-ascendency in Ceylon had, by breaking off any considerable intercourse between that island and the mainland, left the Setupatis and their followers free to return to their wild birthright and natural instinct for a lawless life in which commerce and trade were less secure."⁵

Our coins, therefore, cannot well have been issued by the Setupatis of Ramnad. What, then, is the import of the legend Sétu found on them? Mr. H. C. P. Bell, in his notes on the inscribed stone of Kotagama now in the Colombo Museum,⁶ makes an equation between Sétu and Sādnu meaning: May it be well! The presumed interchange of the letter E in Sétu for the letter A has some plausibility, as another word in the body of the inscription has a similar interchange of vowels i.e. *Anuresar* which clearly should be *Anurāsar*=subordinate or inferior kings. Compare *Anunayikā* in Sanskrit, a subordinate heroine. We remark the form *Rāsar* for *Rasar* in some South Indian Tamil inscriptions also.⁷

2. In the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1898-99, 1, in marked to Dr. Codrington's writing me to see this paper as well as for some valuable remarks which will be utilized later.

3. *Numismat. Orient.*, VI, p. 63.

4. *The Madras Journal*, etc., p. 34.

5. *The Madras Journal*, etc., p. 5.

6. See Report on the Kogalla District, 1892, p. 80.

7. See e.g. the Vellam Cave inscription (*S. Ind. Arch.* Vol. II, p. 3, p. 341) where *Rāsar* is written *Rāsar*.

possibly had been famous for centuries before these invasions and counter-invasions of Chola and Sinhalese rulers took place, but there seems to be nothing of local tradition to indicate that the Sethupati had any concern with or responsibility for the shrine."¹¹ On the other hand the intimate connexion the early Jaffna kings had with it.—if not the fact that they also ruled there—is proved beyond doubt, I think, by a Tamil work of the times of Chekarásasékaran of Jaffna. Before proceeding to examine the passages¹² to our purpose, however, it is well to inquire briefly into the age of Chekarásasékaran.

As regards the dates of the Jaffna kings it mentions the *Yálpána-vaipava-málai* is in a muddle. De Queyroz gives¹³ the names of Xaga Raja or Xagua Raja to the persecutor of the Christians of Mannar, which was evidently his throne name. His proper name was, perhaps, Sankily, the name adopted in the *Vaipava-málai*. An earlier writer in the "Instructions from the Governor General of India." Ryklof van Goens, in 1658, gives him the name of Siangery and states: Jaffna "was for more than 42 years ruled by a heathen king of the name of Siangery who was descended from an old royal and sovereign house. His dominion and his descendants were rooted out and destroyed by the Portuguese" who "ruled for about 97 years."¹⁴

If this account is taken as correct (it is earlier than that of *Vaipava-málai* by nearly a century) giving the Portuguese 97 years backward from 1658 (the date of the Dutch conquest of Jaffna), we shall arrive at 1561, the approximate date of Constantino de Bragança's so-called conquest of Jaffna. His at any rate was the first severe blow to the native sovereignty. Counting back again the 42 years of the reign of Sankily we get 1519 as the date of his accession. This is not unlikely. Accord-

ing to Tamil authorities Sankily was a son of Sinkai-Pararása-sékaran whose uterine brother Chekarásasékaran is said to have been. Pararása-sékaran's predecessor on the throne was his father. Kanakasooriya Sinkai Ariyan whose date of return to his kingdom (according to the *Vaipava-málai*¹⁵) may be taken as synchronising with the return of Sapumal Kumára, who was for a number of years ruling in Jaffna, which date was between 1466 and 1467. The Chakkaravarti's two sons were adults at that time and Pararásasékaran was, soon after, entrusted with the reins of Government by his aged father.¹⁶ Tamil authorities¹⁷ say he came into power after Saka 1400, and this will work out 1478 as his date of accession, which again looks likely enough. Chekarásasékaran is shewn, in the Tamil works said to have been composed under his auspices, as a powerful king and not as holding a subordinate position in the realm. The author of the *Vaipava-málai* was probably ignorant of the fact that the Jaffna kings bore the alternating throne-names of Pararásasékaran and Chekarásasékaran, and as these two names were in the mouths of the people together, fancied that Chekarásasékaran—the encourager of letters—who had probably lived long before, was a brother of Pararásasékaran, the father of Sankily. It was at the instance of king Chekarásasékaran that the Astrological work *Chekarásasékara-málai* was composed by a Brahmin named Sóman.¹⁸ The date of this work is, therefore, probably before 1478.

This Tamil work in its preface makes an eulogistic reference to some ancient kings, the forefathers of the king who had ordered it to be composed. It rehearses the legendary origin of the first kings, which mounts up to

11. *Opus Citatum*, p. 3.

12. The most important one among them was pointed out to me by Mudaliyar C. Ranganayagam.

13. *Conquista*, etc. p. 192, cf. p. 38.

14. *Instructions* etc. Trans. by Sophia Pieters, 1908 p. 86.

15. P. 25. Brito's transl.

16. *Vaipava-malai*, p. 25.

17. See *Abhidhana Kosham* by A. Muttutambi Pillai, S. V. Arasakesari.

18. *Chekarásasékara-malai*, p. 2. Printed edition, Jaffna 1902. The *Vaipava-malai* is evidently wrong in ascribing the authorship of the work to Chekarásasékaran himself. p. 27.

no less a personage than Rāma who, having founded the temple of Rāmésvaram after his own name in honour of Siva, invited 512 Pāsupatias—'Brahmins of Panchak-kirāman'—to serve the temple. From among these he chose two whom he made kings 'to bear the weight of the world,' giving them the Telasi garland with the title of 'Ariya kings' knowing the faultless scriptures' and the insignia of 'Umbrella, brahminical thread and the bull standard.'¹⁹

Does not this story, mixed up as it is with mythological fancy, really connect the kings of Jaffna with the shrine at Rāmésvaram? Curiously enough de Queyrez has noted a similar tradition in the midst of an unconnected jumble of stories which he relates about the early kings of Jaffna. He writes that "some Bramanes, natives of Guzarate, called Arius who considered themselves of Royal extraction, built the temple of Ramanácor with the aid of the Nayque of Madure and from there they began to have intercourse and friendship with the kings of Jafnapata³ and one of them married a daughter of one of these kings with the intention of making his descendants

heirs to the throne. The first of those who threw away the yoke of the king of Cota was Ariaxaca Varati',²⁰ i.e. Ariya Chakkaravarti.

The legend about the brahmanical origin of the kings of Jaffna possibly arose by way of accounting for their title of Ariya²¹ and perhaps also to account for the sacred thread which kings as Kshatriyas²² would have worn. Chekarásasékaran himself wore it we are told²³ in the *Mālai* bearing his name, which work also, apparently, often alludes to the tradition that the Ariya Chakkaravartis had a two-fold origin i.e. *Chóla* origin when calling Chekarasasékaran 'Sinkai-tankum-Ariyar Kón' (lord of the Ariyas of Sinkai),²⁴ and *Pándiya* origin when making him come from Maṇavai (Maṇavaitanta-Māl),²⁵ which doubtless refers to the ancient Pandiyan Capital, Maṇavoor, as the *Tiruvilaiyádal Purāṇam*²⁶ has it, or Maṇaloor as the Southern *Mahābhārata*²⁷ has it.

But, what is to our present purpose, the *Mālai* makes us understand that the Ariya Chakkaravartis belonged to Kantamalai,²⁸ (meaning a mountain near Rāmésvaram) in a very special way and that they were the official

19. அந்தமாதலச்சொன்ம சந்தர்த்தச்சிச்சொபரித்ததன்முமரு
சந்தமதலவருந் தட்டித்தார்க்கிடுங்கியுன்னிதமர்க்க
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சந்தமதலவருந் தட்டித்தார்க்கிடுங்கியுன்னிதமர்க்க
சந்தமதலவருந் தட்டித்தார்க்கிடுங்கியுன்னிதமர்க்க
சந்தமதலவருந் தட்டித்தார்க்கிடுங்கியுன்னிதமர்க்க

Opus. Citatum, p. 1.

20. *Cingala*, etc. p. 37-8.

21. The following story, which some Chittys will be of interest here,—"Some accounts represent Sinha Ariya (the first Ariya Chakkaravarti) as sprung from a Brahmin female of Marava in Rāmapad and hence he is said to have assumed the ambiguous title of 'Sinhapada' (Sinhapada) for the word *Sinha* is a synonym for the *Chóla* kings as well as for the Brahmins. Bernier, *Journal de la Compagnie Indienne*, p. 12, concurs this opinion. Speaking of the ancient town of Mantota he says 'It was the Capital of a Kingdom ruled by the Pandians who had possession of almost all the northern parts of Ceylon, including Jafnapatam. The *Kāliya Māla* also asserts that he was of the race of *Pandya*, and the fact of his having set out from Madura, the seat of the *Pandya* Kings, very much strengthens the assertion."

J. E. A. S. C. L. V. 1, p. 70-1.

22. See *Tamil Literature*, p. 101. This, of course, is a fiction with regard to the Tamils who did not properly come under the Caste-system. See my 'Origin of Caste among the Tamils.'

23. *Chekarasasékaran*, etc., p. 13.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 20, or p. 30.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 75, or pp. 70, 113.

26. *Tiruvilaiyádal Purāṇam*, 2.

27. *Mahābhārata*, I. 235. The Manipura of the Northern version no doubt refers to the same.

28. *Chekarasasékaran-mālai*, p. 2.

guardians of Setu.²⁹ The same title is bestowed on the Jaffna kings in another Tamil work composed also at the instance of Chekarāsasēkaran, called *Takshinukailūsa-purāṇam*, in the following words: 'Sinkai Ariyan Setu-Kāvalan.'³⁰ The use of the word *Setu* can, therefore, be taken as exclusively belonging, at that time, to the kings of Jaffna.

That these kings had a coinage can also be gathered from a passage in the *Chekarāsasēkara-mālai* where the *Yava* measure is mentioned as that in use for measuring the dimensions of "coins marked with the royal seal."³¹ But what was this royal seal? An answer to this question will settle our point of discussion at once. And the same work gives us a happy clue towards that settlement. Among the famous kings, the predecessors of Chekarāsasēkaran, whom it eulogises, mention is made of one who "set down, (or inscribed) the bull-standard, *Setu* and the nine long *Kandis* in profusion."

விடைக்கொடியுந் செகவுநீர் கண்டுகொள்ள
பதம்பொந்திது மெகத்தகே-வம்³²

What is precisely meant by 'the nine long *Kandis*' is not clear. *Kandis* might mean *rudrāksham* beads³³—do we see them on the coins, in the dots on the sides of the bull? (Remark especially Nos. 9 and 10 in figure II)—or a nine-fold Tulasi garland, or again they might also mean the nine divisions of the continent known to the authors of the *Puranas*.³⁴ For our purpose it is sufficient to know that the device combining the bull and

Setu belongs to the kings of Jaffna, and this fact I think establishes beyond cavil that the *Setus* represent the coinage of Jaffna.

It now remains for us to fix the era of the Ariya Chakkaravartis before giving a description of their coins. Casie Chitty³⁵ probably relied on the confused 'history of Lanka Past and Future' by a certain Vaiyā³⁶ when he says that the first Ariya Chakkaravarti "assumed the reins of Government [in Jaffna] in the year of Kaliyugam 3101 or 101 B.C." He also adds: "This nearly accords with the date assigned by Mr Turnour in his *Epitome of the History of Ceylon* to the invasion of the Island by seven Tamils who landed at Mahātitttha (Māntota) with a great army, waged war against the Sinhalese King Walagām Bāhu I and compelled him to take refuge in the mountains." The *Rājāvaliya* says, the seven chiefs brought their men from the Soli country.³⁷

It is interesting to note the tradition recorded by the Revd. Tracy to the effect that the seven chiefs "had their capital at Nallur which is identified as Virava Nallur situated near Ramnad."³⁸ But the *Vaiyū* itself gives Kaliyugam 3999, or 898 A.D. as the date of the first Ariya Chakkaravarti's death. Hence it falls almost into line with *Vaipava-mūlai* which gives the year 943 A.D. for the founding of Nallur.³⁹ Both the works we know are unreliable for dates. The story of Yālpādī is a myth pure and simple. It is evidently the result of striving after a meaning for the Sinhalese name Yāpāpatuna which itself

29. செகவுகாவலன், *Ibid.* p. 40. It is noteworthy that the title given to the early Setuparis was 'guardian of the port of Tondi'—தெண்டியுள் செகவுகாவலன். See the *Souktamil*, Vol. II, p. 34.

30. By Kavivirakavai in the special preface.

31. *Opus Clatum*, p. 91. The *Yava* is a measure of length equal to 1 or 1.1 of an *anula*.

32. *Ibid.* p. 2.

33. Kāṭirav. Pillai's *Fam. Diet.* s. 1.

34. Standing for கண்டம் Winlow, s. 1. See *Purāṇa*, p. 4.

35. J. R. A. S. (C. B.) I 72.

36. The little work also is called *Vaiyā*. I have two old MSS of it in my possession. The author of the *Vaiyā* says he followed Vaiyāpādai among others. (Preface in the Tam. MSS. Bro. has another version). But the work allude to is in prose. It says that one Yālpādī who was ruled under Vibhama king of Ceylon planted Manattūdal (Jaffna) with fruit trees, etc., and crossing over to Vāṇa-nālī-Matunai (or near Vāṇa-K. or near Chakkaravarti) from his father Kūṭabettu the *mutunai* (or heron-bird) of Te-matunai-kāṇasa to become the King of the land which he named Yāpānam after himself. This was after Kaliyugam 3000, i.e. B.C. 101. Casie Chitty's calculation contains an error.

37. *Rājāvaliya*, p. 44.

38. *The Malabar Journal*, etc., p. 1.

39. *Vaipava-Mūlai*, p. 17.

might have originated from the Tamil, Nallur.
⁴⁰ Jaffna was certainly peopled centuries before the days of the fabled Yālpādi. The *Vaipava-mālai* itself ⁴¹ says that Vijaya-Rāja (the conqueror of Ceylon) had built three temples near Kirimalai. This would be in the 5th century B.C. We know from the *Mahāvansa* that there was in the 3rd century B. C. a port in the extreme North of Ceylon—Jambukola, ⁴² probably the modern Sampalurai of Mātakal—and the same work implies that the place had been inhabited by the Nāgas in the time of Buddha. ⁴³

If the Tamils had not occupied Jaffna from these early times the successive waves of Tamil arrivals from the days of the treacherous Sena and Guttika (B.C. 238—216), ⁴⁴ through the Tamil reigns of the great Elāra (206—162), Pulahatta and the rest (104—89), Pāndu and others (A.D. 458—31), the Chola viceroy (1038—1026), ⁴⁵ Anikanga (1209), Lokesvara (1211—1210), Parākrama Pāndiya (1211—1212), and Māgha (1212—1231), not to speak of the Tamil armies brought into Ceylon under Ila Nāga (A.D. 40—46), Vohārika Tissa (230—208), Moggallāna (494—512), Srisangabōdhi II (630—618), Dapula II (797—802), etc., these would have gradually introduced thousands over thousands of Tamils into Ceylon.

The Sinhalese records do not entirely conceal the fact, time and again, that during long stretches of time the Tamils filled every office in the land and that again and again they wielded supreme power. The Rājarata or North Ceylon beginning with Mahātitttha was almost always practically in the hands of the Tamils—an explanation of the frequency

and facility with which Indian invaders made their descents upon Ceylon. As time flowed on, the Tamils of North Ceylon proved such a menace to the safety of the ancient Sinhalese capital that the kings had to remove it first to Polannaruwa and then to Dambadeniya and other southern towns. The kingdom of Jaffna would thus have come into existence in course of time by gradually gaining independence from the rulers of Ceylon. We may well believe that the first Ariya Chakkaravarti rose from among the warlike chiefs holding sway over the North since the days of Māgha, under whom "from Karavuruwa to Polannaruwa and Urātōta the Tamils had held fortified camps." ⁴⁶

The *Mahāvansa* mentions the Ariya Chakkaravartis for the first time in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bāhu I (1272—1283), but calls him "a great minister of much power who was a chief among the Tamils known as Ariya Chakkavatti, albeit he was not an Ariya," ⁴⁷ and states that he had been sent by "the five brethren who governed the Pāndiyan kingdom" and that he seized the Tooth-relic from Subhagiri (Yāpauva) and presented it to king Kulasekhara of Pāndiya. Most probably this was not the minister, but an ally of the Pāndiyan who fought for him at the head of an army mobilised by him. The *Vaipava-Mālai* in fact frequently shows the Ariya Chakkaravartis as the allies of the Pāndiyan. ⁴⁸

It is known from Ibn Batuta that in 1344 the "Ariya Chacarouaty" was "the Sultan of Ceylon," "a powerful king upon the sea," and that he was an ally of the "Sultan of Coroman-

40. This is but a surmise first put forward by Mr. S. W. Coomaraswāmy. Cf Yāpau from Yāhapau and its other name subhagiri, etc. Yāpā is a contraction of යහපාය = யஹபாய, good.

41. p. 3.

42. *Mahāvansa*, XI 23. See Geiger's note on this verse.

43. *Ibid.* XIX 35

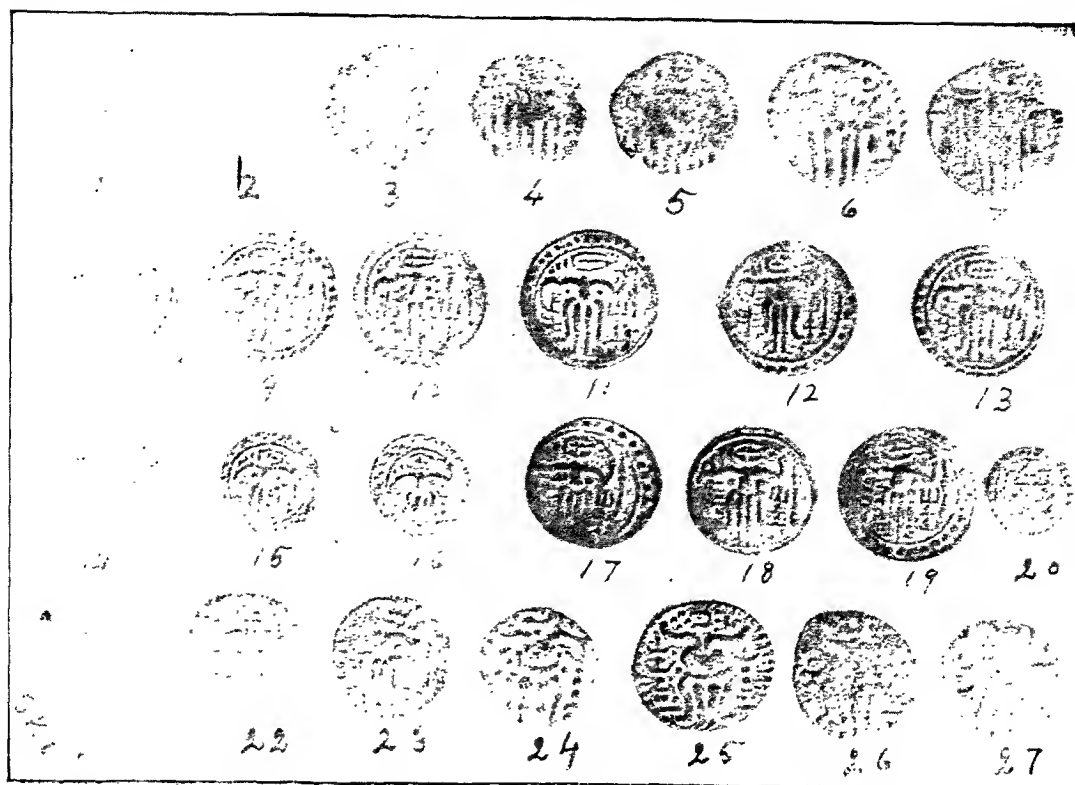
44. My dates throughout are according to the old reckoning, taking 544 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death.

45. The Chola rule at Polonnaruwa seems to have been much longer according to other authorities. This is a point well worth thrashing out apart.

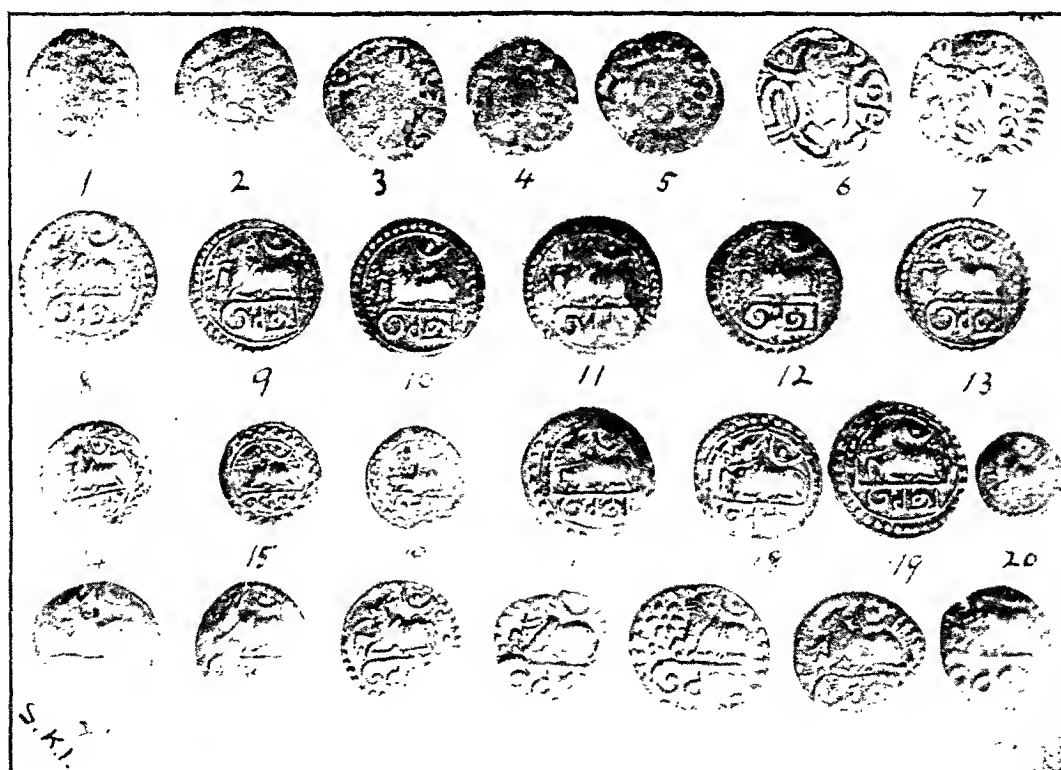
46. *Rajavaliya*, p. 62.

47. Wijesinha's transl. p. 315.

48. If we may believe the *Vaipava-mālai* account, Jeyaveera Sinkai Ariyan (p. 12) seems to be the person alluded to in the *Mahāvansa* story. The Pāndiyan is mentioned as bringing about an amicable settlement between the Chakkaravarti and the king of Ceylon.



OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

del." ** The Arabian traveller's descriptions of the Chakkaravarti of the day lead us to infer that he was not the first of that name and that the kingdom of Jaffna had its beginnings at least a century earlier. And if, as we have said, the date of the accession of Pararásasékaran can with probability be put down as 1478, and an average reign of 25 years ⁵⁰ be given to the eleven kings who preceded him according to the *Vaipava-Mālai*, we get the first half of the 13th century as the time of the first Ariya Chakkaravarti. The probable date of our earliest coins must be soon after this epoch.

The following description of the coins figured here is from Mr. Codrington:—

CLASS I: Standing figure on obverse, seated figure and *Setu* on reverse.

A (fig. 1 to 5) Exactly as the copper of Rájarája II or III of the Chola dynasty (Thirteenth century) but with *Setu* in lieu of the Nágari legend of the Cholas.

B (Fig. 6 and 7) As A but with bull on obverse by the side of the standing figure. An examination shows that B cannot have been imitated from the "Lion" coins of Parákrama-Báhu. They are clearly imitated from the XIII century Chola issues in the same way as A.

CLASS II. Standing figure on obverse. Bull and *Setu* on reverse.

These in order of degradation of style are:

- A. (Fig. 8 to 16) Fine minting. Wholes and halves. Average weight 68 grains
- B. (Fig. 17 to 19) Coarser minting. Bull within frame. Average weight 68 grains,
- C. (Fig. 21 to 23) Still coarser. Average weight 48 grains; but some are worn.
- D. (Fig. 24 to 27) Degraded. Average weight 51 grains.

The half with rosette enclosing *Setu* (Fig. 20) falls into none of these classes.

The "Lion" coin is more closely allied with II C than with any other.

If our coins are Jaffna I would assign Class I to late thirteenth century and Class II (A and B) to the great period of prosperity of the Jaffna kingdom, say roughly 1340—1390. This would account for the better dies of II A. Those of Class II C would be of the first half of the XV century. Then would come the "Lion" coins, therefore of Parákrama Báhu VI, and finally perhaps in the XVI century those of II D.

The "rosette" half must date from the same period as II A or B.

When Mr. Codrington wrote the above notes he was not aware of the existence of the data which establish the fact that the *Setu* coins are Jaffna—a fact, no doubt, which will prove a revelation to many.

49. "Ibn Batuta in the Maldives and Ceylon." JI. R. A. S. (C. B.), 1882. Extra No. p. 39—40

50. In case of regular succession (as in the Jaffna line) from father to son I think it is safe to determine the average reign by the interval between two succeeding generations, i.e. by the age when a king becomes the father of his eldest son.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS AGAINST TRINCOMALIE.

II. THE FRENCH VS. THE ENGLISH, 1782.

By S. G. P.

(Continued from Vol. V, Part III. Page 147.)

THE second French expedition to Ceylon was sent more than a century after the first. The wheel of time had now made France the ally of Holland and England's rival for supremacy in India.¹ Hence, when war broke out between England and Holland during the war of American Independence, the Dutch looked to their French allies to protect their colonies. In March 1781 Pierre-Andre, son of the Marquis de Suffren de Tropez, was despatched in command of the French squadron of five men-of-war to protect the Cape of Good Hope threatened by Commodore Johnstone. Suffren had many encounters with the English fleet, and after he had arrived in Indian waters learnt that the English had taken Trincomalie. He forthwith determined to retake it.²

The capture of Trincomalie was a stroke of Lord Macartney who had arrived as Governor of Madras in June 1781 with orders to commence hostilities against the Dutch. "The first step of Lord Macartney, after his arrival at Madras, was to issue orders for all the British garrisons, contiguous to the most inconsiderable of the Dutch factories, to attack and possess themselves of them with despatch, which order was punctually executed, much to the advantage of those who made lucrative acquisitions their principal aim."³ The English fleet blocked up Negapatam, the chief settlement of the Dutch in the Coromandel coast, and Trincomalie. The former surrendered to Sir Hector Munro on the 11th November, 1781. As soon as the capitulation was signed Sir Edward Hughes re-embarked his seamen and marines, with some Company's artillery, 500 volunteer sepoy and a detachment of pioneers under Lieut.

1. English writers of Indian History generally belittled the persistent efforts of England's rival for empire in Southern India. A frank Englishman, Colonel G. B. Mallet on C. S. L. accordingly called his work on the *Final French Struggle in India* a suppressed chapter of Anglo-Indian history" in which according to that writer, "the French navy appears to very considerable advantage, and a French admiral contesting the seas not unequally with an English admiral finally out-manoevres and beats him, and in which events are recorded which all but upset English domination in Southern India." Introduction.

2. The chief sources consulted for this second expedition are :

(a) *Histoire de la Campagne de l'Inde, par l'Escadre Française, sous les Ordres de M. Le Bailli de Suffren, par le Citoyen Tryblet*, Rennes. An x (1802). Trouble is with himself in acting in the events he narrates. It is dedicated to Citizen Bonaparte, Premier Consul.

(b) *Selection from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785* Edited by George W. Forrest (Calcutta 1856). Vol. III, contains the despatches of Sir Edward Hughes.

(c) *Histoire de Bailli de Suffren*—Ch. Cunat (Rennes 1832).

(d) *Le Bailli de Suffren dans l'Inde*—J. S. Roux (1862 Marseille).

(e) *Journal de Bord du Bailli de Suffren* (Paris 1858).

(f) *A Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast from 1780-1784* by Innes Munro, Capt. 73rd Lord Macleod's Regiment of Highlanders (London 1789).

(g) *Transaction in India* (London 1786).

(h) *Memoirs of the War in Asia, 1783-1784* (London 1789).

3. Munro, 237.

Abbott, and proceeded with his squadron to Trincomalie.⁴

On the 5th January the Admirál landed Lt. Samuel Orr, with his company of marine grenadiers to storm Fort Trincomalie. They were joined by Captain Montague with reinforcements, and some companies of seamen under Captain John Gell of the Navy. Two richly laden Dutch ships, the *Groenendal* and *Canaan*,⁵ were taken. They next proceeded against Fort Ostenburg, which was immediately summoned to "strike the Dutch flag to the English." The commandant of Ostenburg, Van Albert Homoe, and Sir Edward Hughes were old friends and exchanged civilities, after which the English troops "were ordered to make an assault, in the morning of the 11th, upon Fort Osnaburg; and accordingly the storming party composed of four hundred and fifty seamen and marines, supported by the rest of the detachment, made a movement at daylight towards the fort. The advance guard, getting in unperceived at the embrasures of the lower fort, was immediately followed by the whole of the storming party, who soon drove the enemy from their works, and possessed themselves of the fort. The loss on either side was small: ours (English) amounting to no more than four officers, with about sixty marines and

seamen, killed and wounded. Here Sir Edward resolved to remain with his squadron during the monsoon season, having garrisoned the two forts with the detachment of volunteer sepoys and artillery, embarked at Negapatnam, under the command of Captain Bonnevo."⁶

It was Macartney's intention to follow up this victory with an attack on Colombo. To do this the more effectually he desired to enter into an alliance with the King of Kandy, whose assistance would be of the greatest value.⁷ The ambassador chosen for the task of approaching this monarch was Hugh Boyd,⁸ the Governor's secretary, who had accompanied Hughes for the purpose. Boyd left Trincomalie on the 5th of January with an imposing suite, and after many vexations and delays had audience of Rája Sinha, but failed to secure his object.⁹ On the 26th March, Boyd returned to Trincomalie to find that the frigate which the Admiral had left for him had put to sea. He therefore hired a small vessel and set out for Madras.

The day after his departure (10th April, 1782), one of Suffren's ships, *La Fine*, described the boat and seized it. A packet thrown over-board by the captured ship was saved by the Frenchman, and turned out to be the papers¹⁰ of Boyd, who was forthwith

4. A sixty-four gun ship (Capt. Montague) was stationed at Trincomalie since August, 1781. *Munic* 255-6. Accounts of the capture of Trincomalie by the British appearing in the Histories of the Madras Army and the Madras Engineers are of sufficient interest to be given in an Appendix, q. v.

5. "*Dont les cargaisons valaient plus de cinq tonnes d'or*," *Cunat* 93. The Select Committee of Fort St. George wrote to the Governor General (Warren Hastings), "We have the pleasure to inform you that His Majesty's ship *Seahorse* arrived here this morning from Trincomally with letters from Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, announcing to us his success against that place and Fort Olenburg, which was taken by storm."

"There were found in the forts a considerable quantity of military stores, and 150,000 dollars in specie, and two Indiamen richly laden for Europe were taken in the harbour . . . Macartney, A. Sadler, W. Williams. Fort St. George, 8 February, 1782," *Selections*, p. 814.

6. Munro, 257. Bonnevo stands for Bonneveaux. "The enemy for the most part threw down their arms, and their lives, though forfeited by the laws of war, were spared by the clemency of the conqueror" *Memoirs of the W. in d.* 280.

7. What he desired from Rája Sinha was "a liberal supply of provisions for the garrison of Trincomalie," "every friendly assistance," to act together with the English "with the utmost despatch," and to take "vigorous measures" against the Dutch. See *Journal of Boyd's Embassy*.

8. Hugh Boyd, the son of Alex. Macaulay, was a literary man who is even supposed to be the author of the *Letters of Junius*. His father dying suddenly he was left unprovided for, and his mother's father (Pryce) bequeathed a small property under condition of his changing his name. A sketch of Boyd's life appears in the *Asiatic Annual Register* Vol. I (1798) in the part entitled "Characters."

9. Cf. Boyd's *Journal*.

10. These papers were sent to Holland, and included an account of a naval engagement between the English and the French which Boyd sent to Kandy for Rája Sinha's behoof (see *Asiat. An. Regist.* 1790. *Miscel. Tracts*, p. 48) and which, according to a French writer, "was a romantic description to which he did not even take the trouble to give an appearance of likelihood" (Troublot 74). The French "*Ambassade de M. Hughes Boyd à Candy*" (Paris 1803), published "for the instruction and amusement of the young" was a translation from the German. Boyd set himself to write an account of his embassy but died (Oct., 1794) before it was carried out. The "*Journal of an Embassy from the Governor of Madras to the King of Candy*" was published in 1799 from copies sent to Mrs. Boyd while he was a prisoner in the Isle de Bourbon.

taken prisoner.¹¹ On the 12th April the two fleets, which for some days had not lost sight of each other, came in touch and a truly "memorable and bloody battle ensued, which reflected the brightest glory on both their commanders. In this action, perhaps the hottest in which the navies of either country were ever engaged, each ship strove to excel its opponent in feats of desperate heroism, particularly the two on board of which the respective flag of each Admiral was displayed: for at pistol-shot distance, such was the effect of their incessant and destructive fire, that the very sea for a considerable space around them was perfectly becalmed."¹² However, "from their equality in prowess, though not in numbers" the contest "was left undecided." In the British fleet "137 men were killed and four hundred and thirty wounded."¹³ The French losses amounted to "130 killed, and 364 wounded."¹⁴ The battle lasted five hours and twelve minutes.

Continuing his way Suffren put in at Batticaloa to refit. The scurvy had broken out in the French fleet as it did in the English, and 1,500 sick were landed, and the fleet anchored for repairs. Some transport ships¹⁵ which had fled to Galle to escape the English were sent for, and spies of the Dutch Governor of Batticaloa brought the news that the English fleet had anchored at Trincomalie on 22nd April and landed 1,100¹⁶ sick. On the 3rd of May, Suffren set out for Tranquebar, and on the 6th July, the two fleets met again. "A very warm engagement ensued, in which the Admirals of both fleets set a valiant and animating example to their respective followers. The English Admiral was well supported; and having the wind in his favour, soon broke the

French line; in the re-forming of which Mons. Suffren displayed prodigies of gallantry;¹⁷ though from the misconduct of some of his captains, he was forced at length to withdraw from the fight.

Suffren was now intent on Trincomalie, and Sir Edward Hughes, who suspected his design, now detached "the two best sailing ships of his fleet,"¹⁸ with two hundred men from the Forty-second and Seventy-eighth regiments, commanded by Captain Hay Macduel¹⁹ of the former, to reinforce Trincomallee, who consequently superseded Captain Bonnevo of the Company's service, that had been left there with the sepoys to put the fortifications in repair. This detachment arrived safely at Celon and the ships rejoined Sir Edward Hughes on the 12th of August, having been chased great part of the way back by a division of the French fleet." With this detachment were sent Captain Banks, Robert Watson, Crawford Lennox, all of the Engineers. (*M. H. G. of E.*, I, 178). Captain Macdowall tried to put the fort in a state of defence but before he could accomplish it Suffren was upon him.

On the 21st August, Suffren's fleet being victualled and reinforced put to sea. At Batticaloa he took in a company of Malays, and materials for the siege, and on the 24th sailed for Trincomalie which the *Lezard* reported to be unoccupied by the enemy's ships. By 6 p.m. of the 25th the whole fleet was at anchor in North Bay. Orders were at once given to the troops to be ready to land, armed and carrying three days' victuals, at 2 o'clock of the morning of Monday the 26th August.

11. The Captain of *La Fine* treated Boyd with the greatest kindness. In the Isle de Bourbon he "lived at the Governor's table and was treated with the utmost kindness and liberality." *Asiat. An. Reg.* Cunat, Boyd died at Madras.

12. Munro 275. Despatch of Hughes in *Selections*, 172-65. *Trans. in India* 477-79.

13. The *Monmouth* alone had 45 killed and 102 wounded. See Hughes' despatch.

14. Cunat 140; Roux 105, *Transact. in India* 458.

15. *La Sylphide*, corvette, *le Pulveriseur*, *les Bons-Amis*, *le Maurepas*. Galle was the rendezvous of the French.

16. "At this place" wrote Hughes from the *Superb* in Trincomalie Bay, "1482 sick and wounded men have been landed from the several ships of the squadron, and I am sorry to inform you 110 of them have already died, and I fear for the lives of many more although every possible care is taken of them."

17. Munro, 285. Despatch of Hughes in *Selections*, 515-581.

18. The *Sceptre* and the *Monmouth*.

19. Munro gives the name thus: Macduel; others Macdowall, M'Dowall, Troublat, Mackeldoel: *Hist. of the Madras Army*, MacDowall. Cunat says he was a young man of 26 at the time. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hay MacDowall was Commander of the Forces, Madras, Sept. 17, 1807—10 April 1810. (*Princep—Record of the Services of Madras Civilians*, p. xxxi.)

These troops consisted of a battalion of the Regiment de l'Isle de France under Chevalier de Rivet, detachments of the Regiment d'Australie under M. de d'Amonville, of the Volontaires étrangers de Lauzon under Baron d'Agoult, the Volontaires de Bourbon, four companies of marines under M. Dupas de la Mancelliere, a company of artillery under M. Fontaine, 600 sepoys and Malays supplied by the Dutch, making a total of 2,410 men.²⁰ The cutter *Lezard* was told off to protect the landing. In spite of the noise and bustle and confusion the English garrison did not even attempt to oppose the French landing within cannon shot of the fort.²¹

By dawn all were on land, and the Baron d'Agoult became by seniority Commander of the forces. They occupied the houses and gardens and determined to erect a battery of four cannon. Gabions brought for the purpose from Batticaloa, and sacks of earth made on the spot were lowered and the madriers of the captured houses were used for 'plateformes.' Another detachment of the Regiment de l'Isle de France, left behind to protect the vessels, was ordered to land with 400 marines and a company of Bombardiers. Another battery of three mortars was directed against the south-west bastion, and communications were established between the two batteries. The men were indefatigable and Suffren was bent on carrying the place with the utmost despatch. Des Rois set up a third battery,²² and Captain Beau-lieu of *la Bellone* landed a troop of Malays.

On the 27th, after a cannonade continued from five o'clock, 100 of the besiegers made a sally at 11:30 without success. The French attack was directed against the fort erected in the form of a square on the isthmus between North Bay and Dutch Bay. The batteries

began to play at 6 o'clock of the 29th, and at 9 o'clock of the 30th, after a continuous fire, an officer of the Volontaires who spoke English was sent to call upon the fort to surrender. A breach had not yet been made, but the south-west bastion was badly damaged and at the mercy of the French. By 11 o'clock the envoy returned with two English Officers, but their demands were considered *trop exigeantes*. Suffren was ready to grant all the honours of war if only they would capitulate promptly. A modified form was taken by one of the Officers while the other remained to dine. Macdowal asked that the garrison be sent to Negapatam forthwith, and that Fort Ostenburg should not be included in the capitulation. Suffren curtly refused, and ordered his men to get ready to recommence the attack as soon as the officers reached the fort.²³ This settled the matter, and Hay Macdowal himself came to accept the Frenchman's terms. Eleven articles of Capitulation were hurriedly drawn up.

Articles of the Capitulation concluded between the Baillie de Suffren Saint-Torpez, Lieutenant-General, Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces of His Most Christian Majesty in Indian waters; the Baron d'Agoult, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the land forces before Trincommalay; and Captain Hay Macdowal, commanding the forces of His Britannic Majesty and of the Honourable East India Company at Trincommalay in the island of Ceylon.

Firstly—The gates shall be delivered up as soon as the capitulation shall be signed and approved. The troops shall pile arms, artillery, etc. on the Glacis as they sally out. They shall sally out tomorrow at sunrise with 'meches' lit and with two six-pounder field pieces, one mortar and all their appurtenances

20. Troublat 13; Cunat 27.

21. "ils avoient même négligé d'abattre les maisons à couvert desquelles on approcha les ouvrages à portée de fusil" Troublat, 140.

22. The position of the three batteries is marked in the plan (c. c. c.)

23. *Eh bien! Messieurs, à vos postes, et qu'on se prépare à recommencer dès que ces messieurs seront rentrés.* Cunat, 210.

24. Cunat, *Pièces justificatives* 14, Appendix p. 336-7.

with twelve rounds, and shall be conveyed on board to be taken over to Madras by the shortest route on transports equipped and victualled to this effect at the expense of his Most Christian Majesty, and the English troops shall be treated like the crew of the King's ships.

Secondly.—A special ship shall be reserved for the Commanding Officer, the Officers and Staff, the Engineer, Commisary, Ordnance officer, surgeon and their staff. This vessel shall be similarly victualled and furnished with the necessary commodities. The said officers shall carry away their papers with them without being examined. The transports shall be forthcoming in ten days, and sooner if possible, that is to say on the coming 10th September.

Thirdly.—The besiegers shall supply a sufficient number of coolies to convey on board the transports the cannon and mortar mentioned in the first article, and the baggage of the officers and soldiers.

Fourthly.—The sick and wounded who will not be in a state to embark, and who on that account will be obliged to remain behind, shall have the liberty of betaking themselves to Madras as soon as they will be able. They shall in the meantime be fed and lodged at the expense of his Most Christian Majesty.

Fifthly.—The Commanding Officer, all the other Officers who are under his orders, those attached to the garrison, and generally all that are employed among the troops of the King or of the Company shall be at liberty to quit the place without being in any way molested.

Sixthly.—The inhabitants and dependants of the place shall be maintained in their rights, privileges and prerogatives.

Seventhly.—The public storehouses shall be handed over to the persons nominated for the purpose by the Commandant of his Most Christian Majesty, but all private effects shall remain the property of the present owners.

Eighthly.—Deserters shall be pardoned, but they shall be loyally surrendered and no means shall be employed to force troops European or Indian, to enter the service of his Most Christian Majesty.

Ninthly.—The Officer commanding the forces of his Most Christian Majesty shall be responsible for any disorders that his troops may give rise to.

Tenthly.—The Commanding Officer and all the Officers who are under his orders shall be accorded the permission of remaining in their houses until the transports mentioned in the second article be ready to set sail for Madras.

Lastly.—The doorway shall be delivered one hour after the accorded capitulation. The garrison shall sally out as stated in the first article, to be conducted on board the transports.

Finally.—The present capitulation shall be carried out in all its eleven articles with mutual good faith.

At Trinquemalay, the 30th August, 1782.

(Signed) Hay Macdowal, Capt, 42nd Regiment.

Commandant,

Le Chevalier de Suffren.

Le Baron d'Augoult.

That same night orders were given to march against Fort Ostenburg before dawn, and in the morning the English garrison comprising 300 Europeans and 450 Sepoys was embarked, the officers remaining in their lodgings.

On the 31st August the terms of capitulation were presented to Captain Quelso, Commandant of Ostenburg, who accepted them without any difficulty. There were found in the fort 50,000 piasters, 20,000 pounds of powder, 1,650 balls, six months' victuals, 1,200 muskets, 4 field pieces, 10 obusiers, and 30 cannon. The Fort of Trincomalie was even better provided, 40 cannon, 20 of which of brass were found there. But the English had so badly managed the

defence of Trincomalie that the powder was found in one Fort and the shot in the other.²⁵

Suffren conducted the operations with feverish haste, and by the 1st of September the garrisons of the two Forts numbering 400 Europeans and 600 sepoy were on board the transport ships, and the French troops re-embarked. The defence of the Forts was entrusted to Desrois, who was given the third battalion of the Isle de France. 400 Sepoys and 500 Malays.

In the afternoon of the 2nd September Suffren entertained the English officers to dinner, and before the guests rose news was brought that seventeen sails were descried.—that was the English Squadron. It was then that Macdowal realised his mistake. If he had held out for another few days the French would have been obliged to raise the siege. The active Governor of Madras had set great store by the possession of Trincomalie. News of its capture was communicated to the Eastern Princes who had reason to be dissatisfied with the Dutch.²⁶ Besides, Macartney meant to make a permanent English settlement in Trincomalie. "In pursuance of this plan Lieutenant-Colonel Fullarton, an officer of the most extended capacity and singular talents, which seemed more the effect of natural endowment than experience, embarked with Sir Edward Hughes, for the purpose of commanding the garrison of Trincomalie, and also of negotiating an alliance with the King of Candia, or chief emperor of the island of Ceylon; who was at this period much disgusted with the Dutch tyranny, and might have been easily brought over to our interest, had the talents and

address of Colonel Fullarton had an opportunity for exertion."²⁷

Macartney had instructed the Colonel to be very prudent. "A good treatment of the people now subject to the British power," he observed, "was the surest as well as the justest method of engaging others to place themselves under the British protection."²⁸ He thought that "the firm hold which we seemed now to have taken of Trincomalie, might incline the King of Candy to consider an union with the English as his interest." Fullarton was therefore directed to seize an occasion for correspondence with Rája Sinha. "Such a correspondence might even lead to a proposal as a proof of our tenderness for his claims, which, no doubt, extended to the whole island of Ceylon, to accept of a grant from him to the Company, and to enjoy, under this grant, the possession we then held in that island, by right of conquest over our declared enemies. This grant might become of vast importance, by establishing in us a right to keep Trincomallee under that title, when a peace might force us to restore it to the Dutch, if we had not any other title to it than that of having wrested it from them by force of arms."²⁹

It was Macdowal's timidity that spoiled all these well laid plans. He seemed to have supposed that Suffren had already worsted Hughes,³⁰ and that Trincomalie had to shift for itself. At any rate Macdowal had to answer the charges framed against him at the inquiry of 29th January 1783.³¹ He was, however, acquitted and lived to figure again in Ceylon warfare.

²⁵ *Military History of the Madras Engineers* 1, 175.

²⁶ According to a resolution of the Hon. the Governor-General in Council (Fort William, 7 March, 1780) letters were sent to the King of Boney, the Sultan of Mendanao, and to the Chief of the Moluccas, "who had great cause to complain against the treacherous proceedings of the Dutch" that the harbour and fort of Trincomalie were occupied by the English. "I flatter myself, therefore, that you will readily join with us in distressing this faithless people, by driving them entirely out of your dominions, while we attack them in other quarters." *Selections* p. 845-6.

²⁷ Munro, 289.

²⁸ *Mem. of W. in A.* 371-2.

²⁹ *Ib.*

³⁰ Cunat, 210.

³¹ A court of Inquiry held to examine the conduct of the officers lately at Trincomalie and Fort Ostenburg reported that there were grounds for a court-martial respecting the surrender of Trincomalie.

Capt. MacDowell tried for surrendering Fort Trincomalie to the French under Monsieur Suffren on 30th August 1782—Acquitted.

Capt. Bonneveaux, Commanding and Acting Chief Engineer (before the arrival of Capt. Banks) tried for neglect of duty in not putting forts into proper state considering the number of people employed and money charged—Acquitted.

Capt. Banks, Sub-Director of Engineers, and Chief Engineer, tried for not taking measures in time to defend Trincomalie—Honourably acquitted.

Capt. Lieut. Saxon, for not availing himself of guns, shots, etc.—Guilty: suspended for six months. *Military History of the Madras Engineers*, 1, 178-9.

Admiral Hughes had no inkling of what had taken place and was making for the Bay. It was night and he did not notice the presence of the French ships. The shore being higher than a ship's mast Suffren's fleet was '*mangé par la terre*,' as the French seamen call it, and could see a ship in the offing without being seen. It was therefore only at dawn that Hughes saw to his surprise and indignation that Trincomalie had changed hands. Suffren advanced to meet him, for "no two competitors ever met that had more the interests of their sovereigns at heart, or that possessed a greater share of real valour and patriotism, than Sir Edward Hughes and the Chevalier de Suffren. It was not their practice to shun each other by crafty manoeuvre,³² but gallantly to close at once, and put their spirits to the test."³³

The French fleet was unfortunately delayed while leaving the harbour, and the English were able to get far from land before the two squadrons closed. However, on the 3rd of September was fought "a bloody and destructive fight, that continued, without any visible advantage on either side, until the approach of night put an end to the contest."

The two squadrons were composed as follows:—

English.

<i>Exeter</i>	64	Commodore King.
<i>Isis</i>	56	Cap. Lumley
<i>Hero</i>	74	Hawker
<i>Sceptre</i>	64	Graves
<i>Burford</i>	74	Reiner
<i>Sultan</i>	74	Watt
<i>Superb</i>	74	Admiral Hughes
<i>Monarca</i>	74	Gell
<i>Eagle</i>	64	Reddel
<i>Magnanime</i>	64	Wolsey
<i>Monmouth</i>	64	Comm. Alms
<i>Worcester</i>	64	Wood

LIGHT VESSELS.	<i>San Carlos</i>	44
	<i>Active</i>	40
	<i>Medee</i>	36
	<i>Coventry</i>	28
	<i>Seahorse</i>	24
	<i>Combustion</i>	10

French.

Van	<i>L'Artésien</i>	64	de Saint-Félix
	<i>Le Sévère</i>	64	de Maureville de Langle
	<i>Le Saint-Michel</i>	64	d'Aymar
	<i>L'Orient</i>	74	de la Pallière
Centre	<i>Le Brillant</i>	64	Kersauson
	<i>Le Petit-Annibal</i>	50	le Chevalier de Galles
	<i>Le Sphinx</i>	64	du Chilleau
	<i>Le Héros</i>	74	le Bailli de Suffren
Rear	<i>L'Illustre</i>	74	de Bruyères
	<i>Le Flamand</i>	50	de Salvert
	<i>L'Ajux</i>	64	de Beaumont
	<i>La Consolante</i>	40	de Péan
	<i>L'Annibal</i>	74	de Tromelin
	<i>Le Vengeur</i>	64	de Cuverville
	<i>Le Bizarre</i>	64	de la Landelle

LIGHT FRIGATES.	<i>La Fortune</i>	18	de Lusignan
	<i>La Bellone</i>	36	de Beaulieu
	<i>La Fine</i>	36	le Chevalier de la Corne

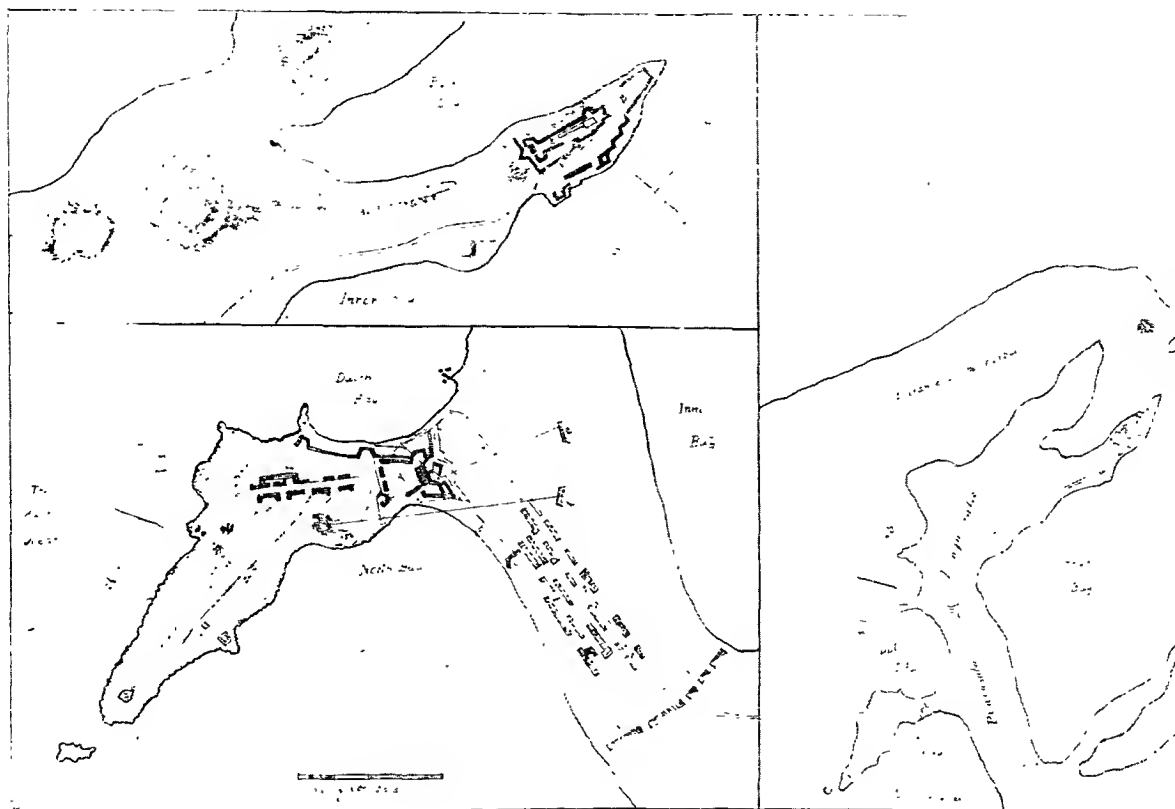
The battle raged loud and long till night fell and the engagement ceased—another drawn battle. Both fleets fought with admirable courage and both were considerably damaged. Hughes had the advantage of that care for discipline and obedience to orders which characterises the British sailor. Suffren on the other had was badly served by his men. A jealous clique headed by Tromelin had constantly endeavoured to thwart his measures, and some of the French captains were

32. The crafty manoeuvre in this case was the proposal made to Suffren to entice the English fleet into the harbour by flying the English flag on the forts. Suffren was also advised to avoid an engagement. "If the enemy had more ships than I," he replied "I would abstain, if he had an equal number I would scarcely refrain; but as he has fewer there is no choice; we must go out and fight him." Hughes had 13 ships, Suffren 14.

33. Munro. 283—90.

PLAN OF THE FORTS TRINQUAMALLE AND OSNABURG.

Taken by Munro, Captain, the 1st Artillery, 1781.



- A. a. Fort Trinquamalle.
- B. b. Fort Osnaburg.
- C. C. C. 2 Batteries of guns and 1 of Mortars.
- D. d. Signal flag.
- E. E. e. e. Position of the enemy when they landed.
- 1. 2. 3. 4. Works done since the fort was taken by the French.

Traced from Munro, who says: "The annexed Plan of Trinquamallee I faithfully copied from one drawn by a French engineer of the Isle of France, comprehending the improvements that had been recently made upon the works of that place by the French," p. 288.

publicly deprived of their command after the battle. Both fleets remained all night near the scene of action. The next morning the French made for Trincomalie, which, according to the malcontent captains, they should not have left at all. On the 7th, the *Orient* struck at the entrance to the Bay, and the fleet had to remain around the lost ship. They had 82 killed and 255 wounded, and some of the ships disabled.³⁴

The English fleet had 51 killed and 285 wounded.³⁵ On the 8th September the Admiral wrote to Fort St. George: "I am much concerned to inform you that on the morning of the day after the engagement I found several ships so very much damaged in their hulls and masts as to render it impossible for them to keep the sea; three of them, the *Hero*, *Eagle* and *Monmouth*, are with difficulty kept above water with all their pumps at work from stop holes so low down that it will be difficult to stop them even when at anchor in smooth water, and all the ships

have suffered so much in their masts, yards and rigging that the short time the squadron can with safety remain on this coast will be scarce sufficient to refit them for sea. I am therefore on my way back to Madras Roads to effect their repairs."³⁶

On the 17th, the French fleet anchored in Trincomalie harbour, and Suffren set about effecting repairs in order to sail for the Coromandel coast. On the 8th, the English garrisons were despatched on board the *la Betsi* and *la Concorde*. After shipping off the recalcitrant captains and having repaired damages Suffren set sail for Cuddalore. The sick were left in Hospital at Trincomalie, which was garrisoned by a Battalion de l'Ile-de-France, a company of artillery, a company of marines, and 1,000 sepoys, besides a company of 'chasseurs' and two companies of Malays supplied by the Dutch. The French held Trincomalie till the peace of 1783 when it was again restored to the Dutch.³⁷

APPENDIX A.

[*Military History of the Madras Engineers and Pioneers, from 1743 up to the*

"During the operations at Negapatam, Sir Edward Hughes had stationed a 64-gun ship to blockade Trincomalee.

"On 2nd January, 1782, the Admiral left Negapatam with his squadron, having embarked his seamen and marines, with some Company's artillery, 500 volunteer sepoys, and a detachment of pioneers under Lieutenant Abbot.

"Major Geils was chief engineer.

"On the 4th January, the squadron anchored in Trincomalee Bay. The next day the Marines, with two 16-pounders, and Artillery were landed about three miles to the north of Trincomalee Fort, and by evening the whole force had landed, under command of Captain Gell, of the *Minorca*. Trincomalee Fort was taken by surprise the same night. The principal part of the garrison retired to Fort Ostenburg on the top of a high hill, which commands the entrance to the harbour.

present time, compiled by Major H. M. Vibart, London 1881. Vol. I. pp. 164-166.]

"On the 7th, Major Geils, the chief engineer, with the field officer, reconnoitred the heights near Ostenburg Fort, endeavouring to find a passage for the troops and field pieces; and on the 8th, the whole moved off towards the fort, and with great labour and fatigue on the 9th got possession of a hill, not more than 300 paces from it, but found it impracticable to get heavy guns up. Under these circumstances, the Admiral summoned the Governor to surrender, and that he might get as exact information as possible of the real state of the place, he ordered Major Geils to carry the summons. This he did, and reported on his return that it might be taken by assault, but desired, at the same time, that a second summons might be sent by him, in order that he might be more exact in his observations on the defence of the place. It seems strange that Geils was allowed in without being blindfolded. This was done on the 10th, but the Governor still persisting

34. *Cunat* 234. Munro says that the French had "no less than eleven hundred killed and wounded."

35. Hughes gives a list.

36. *Selections*, 897.

37. The opinion of Professor H. H. Wilson endorsed by Col. Malletson: "It seems probable that but for the opportune occurrence of peace with France the South of India would have been lost to England." *Final French Struggles in India*, Introd. vii.

in his resolution to defend his post to the last, it was determined to assault it. Accordingly, at gun-fire on the 11th, it was assaulted with bravery, and the enemy driven from their guns and posts in a very short time, but not without considerable loss on our part—one officer and twenty men being killed, and two officers and forty men wounded. The enemy lost only thirteen men killed, including two officers.

"The Governor, 9 officers, 250 infantry, 50 artillery, 55 European seamen, 60 Chinese and Malays, and 10 artificers were taken prisoners.

"Two of the enemy's ships were found in the harbour richly laden. Sir Edward Hughes resolved to remain with the squadron, having garrisoned the two forts with the detachment of volunteer sepoys and artillery, under the command of Captain Bonnevaux.

"On the 30th July, Captain George Banks and Mr. Robert Watson, and Mr. Crawford Lennox, of the Engineers, were ordered to proceed to Trincomalee, while Mr. Collins Tyson was to relieve Mr. Watson at Negapatam."

APPENDIX B.

Expedition to Ceylon, 1782.

[*History of the Madras Army.* compiled

by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Wilson (Madras 1882) II. 62-63.]

"In December, 1781, preparations were made to attack the possessions of the Dutch in Ceylon. A detachment of Madras troops under Captain Bonnevaux accompanied the expedition which sailed from Negapatam on the 2nd January, 1782 under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. This detachment consisted of a party of artillery under Captain-Lieutenant Sutcliff, and of a native battalion of seven companies.

"The artillery consisted of 2 corporals, 6 matrosses, 1 subadar, 1 naigue, and 20 privates. The battalion was composed of 5 subalterns, 4 serjeants, 7 subadars, 7 jemadars, 35 havildars, 35 naigues, 6 drummers, 3 fifers, 7 puckallies, and 420 sepoys. This corps was formed of volunteers from the 9th, 10th, 13th and 23rd battalions, and of about 200 men who had been serving with the army as pioneers. The whole were either *parias*, or men of the lowest castes.

"The fort of Trincomalee was stormed by the marines on the night of the 5th. January, and on the 7th Sir Edward Hughes directed the formation of a body of pioneers from the volunteer battalion. Three companies were formed accordingly, each consisting of 1 serjeant, 1 native officer, 3 havildars,

3 naigues and 44 privates. Lieutenant Abbot was placed in command of the whole, with Ensigns Byrne and Wright as subalterns.

"Fort Osnaburg was assaulted and carried on the 11th: and sixty-two guns, six mortars, and a quantity of shot, shell, gun-powder and small arms were taken in the two forts. Shortly after this the Admiral re-embarked the seamen and marines, leaving the Madras detachment to garrison the place. On the 26th March, a reinforcement consisting of 1 Lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 4 native officers, 10 havildars, and 172 rank and file was embarked at Madras, also 52 artillery men, European and native, and 62 European invalids belonging to the infantry.

"Sometime in July, the garrison was further strengthened by the arrival of about 200 men of H. M.'s 78th, and of the 2nd battalion 42nd (72nd and 73rd Regiments) under Captain Hay Macdowall who assumed command. On or about the 25th August, Admiral Suffrein appeared before the place with two line of battle ships, and a considerable body of troops. The siege was commenced at once, and Captain Macdowall was obliged to capitulate on the 30th idem."

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

UNDER the heading of "Religious Establishments," Mr. North reports to the Court of Directors and to the Secretary of State not only on religion and on its kindred subject, education, but also on poor relief, and on the work of the Medical Department. We may, accordingly, include these subjects here, though the three last have since become more or less secularised, and we may first examine the state of education.

On Mr. North's arrival in October, 1798, he found that the Dutch educational system had been allowed to fall into disuse by the military governors of Colombo. "Catechists and schoolmasters no longer received their salaries. The duties of public worship, and the education of youth, began either to be feebly discharged or entirely neglected: and memorials, presented by the inhabitants on these subjects, were considered, by a military commander, either as objects, in which he had no concern, or matters which he had not power to redress."¹

Taking the Dutch system as a working basis, Mr. North about the beginning of 1799 set himself to remedy this state of affairs. The four Dutch provinces of Colombo, Point de Galle, Trincomalee and Jaffnapatam had been divided into counties and parishes, and in each of the parishes a protestant school had been erected. Under the direction of clergymen sent from Holland, an academy was established at Colombo where schoolmasters

catechists were trained. Others were sent to Europe for a fuller education, and returned in Holy Orders. The Dutch clergymen studied the vernaculars, translated the Scriptures, and published the New, and a great part of the Old, Testament in Sinhalese and Tamil. Children were instructed in Christianity and in reading and writing their own language.

The school houses also answered the purpose of parish churches. A register of marriages and baptisms was kept in each, and divine service was held here on Sundays and holidays. Each school had two to four teachers, and every ten schools were supervised by a catechist. Nine out of the 12 to 15 Dutch clergymen² in the island superintended a number of catechists, and made the circuit of their dioceses once a year, examining the school children in religious and secular knowledge, baptising, marrying and administering the communion.

Mr. North had thus a very complete religious and educational system ready to his hand. The schools which had "decayed"³ owing to the apathy of the military governors were reconstituted, a monthly sum of eight rix-dollars (or 16 shillings) being settled on each school⁴ and each catechist being given an allowance of 15 rix-dollars a month. The Dutch clergymen resumed the visitation of their charges and their travelling expenses were paid by Government.⁵ Several preachers of the Gos-

1. Cordiner, I. 159.

2. Despatch of 26th Feb. 1799, §. 92.

3. Lord Valentia, I. 307.

4. Cf. Despatch of 5th Oct., 1799, § 34.

5. Despatch of 26th Feb., 1799, § 92.

pel were educated in the island and licensed by the governor and others were brought from Coromandel, and established as officiating clergymen at the yearly salary of £40 to £60 at the following stations: Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Puttalam, Manaar, Jaffna, Mullaittivu, Trincomalee, Batticalca, Matara, Galle, and Kalutara.

These clergymen superintended the parochial schools, of which, in 1801, there were 170 in the various parts of the Maritime Provinces⁶ costing, according to Lord Valentia, £4,600,⁷ according to Cordiner,⁸ under £1,800 yearly.

In addition to these parochial schools which were intended for the inhabitants of the villages, Mr. North had a comprehensive scheme for schools "of a superior nature,"⁹ or, as we now say, of a higher grade. Of these higher grade schools, there appear to have been two kinds, the first being preparatory to the second, the second being, apparently, the "academy" at Colombo, mentioned by Cordiner.¹⁰ Of the first kind, the proposal was to establish three schools for boys at Colombo, one for each of the communities of Burghers, Sinhalese, and Tamils, and one at Trincomalee.¹¹ In these schools, the boys were to be received at eight years of age, and to remain for six years. Though it is not clear what the subjects taught in these schools were to be, it is probable that a rudimentary English education was to be given. From these schools, children of Burghers who wished it, and other children who showed promise, were to be received into the "Academy," the former "on the Payment of an easy Contribution," and the latter at Government expense.¹² The curriculum was to be the same for all the pupils, consisting of "these Studies which are common in the

English Seminaries, with such aids, in oriental and native Literature, as may bring to Light any extraordinary Talents which might otherwise pass through Life dormant and unobserved."¹³ From the "Academy" the public services were to be recruited.

By January, 1800, the three preparatory schools had been opened in Colombo, apparently at Wolfendhal¹⁴, and the "Academy" appears to have been in existence by 1802, for in that year the first two appointments—interpreters to the Provincial Court of Colombo—were made to the public service from among the pupils.¹⁵ There is no definite record of the establishment of the preparatory school at Trincomalee.

Other classes of schools were also established about the same time. By February, 1801, schools for foundlings and orphans had been opened at Galle, Jaffna, and Trincomalee, and the establishment of one at Colombo was being considered¹⁶. A School for Mohammedans was proposed early in 1800, and may have been opened about that time.¹⁷ By the end of 1801 several schools for the children of Roman Catholics had been established.¹⁸

There are various estimates of the expense of this educational establishment. Mr. North, in his Despatch of 30th January, 1800 (396), gives £ 5,000 a year as the estimated expense of the scholastic and ecclesiastical establishment; Lord Valentia, in 1804, puts the former at £4,600¹⁹; while Cordiner's figures give the expense of the parochial schools at about £ 1,800, and that of the "academies," i. e., the preparatory schools and the "Academy" above-mentioned, and of the orphan schools, at £ 1,500. In any case, the Secretary of State was of the opinion that the expenditure was excessive, and by his Despatch of 8th February, 1803, ordered that it should not exceed £ 1,500, with the result that the paro-

6. Cordiner, I. 163; Lord Valentia, I. 207; Despatch of 24th Nov., 1802, § 129.

7. This is probably too high a figure.

10. I. 161.

14. Despatch of 30th Jan., 1800, § 93.

16. Despatch of 18th Feb., 1801, § 202.

18. Despatch of 15th Dec., 1801.

8. I. 163.

11. Despatch of 5th Oct., 1799, § 26.

15. Despatch of 16th March, 1802, § 58.

17. Despatch of 30th Jan., 1803, § 98.

9. Despatch of 5th Oct., 1799, § 35.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

19. It will be seen from what follows that the references to Roman Catholics in the Despatches are very scanty. They require to be supplemented from other sources.

19. I. 307.

chial schools ceased to be granted their allowance of 8 rix-dollars a month each. This decision was considered in Ceylon to be unreasonable, as the village schoolmasters acted both as notaries and registrars,²⁰ and on Mr. North's representations, supported by the Rev. Mr. Cordiner personally on his return to England in 1804, the Secretary of State signified that he would not be "indisposed to accede to some increase of Expense on this Head, if you shall find it absolutely indispensable."²¹

It is interesting to note that the first Sinhalese-English dictionary was begun in this period by a committee under the direction of Joseph Jonville. It was "far advanced towards Its Conclusion" by the end of 1801.²² Jonville had also prepared an alphabet which was to be sent home for the preparation of Sinhalese types,²³ but it may be noted that there was little progress made by Europeans in learning the native languages. In 1805, only D'Oyly and Carrington were in any degree versed in Sinhalese in spite of special instructions from Home on the subject.²⁴

It is not clearly explained by the authorities whether Christianity was taught in these schools or not, but there is every reason to infer from the Despatches that Mr. North's educational policy was probably part of an effort to encourage and develop the professed Christianity of the subjects of the Dutch. How this intention is to be reconciled with the orders of the Court of Directors, that liberty of conscience and free exercise of religious worship were to be granted to the inhabitants,²⁵ can be discovered from occasional references to the anomaly in the Despatches.

It must, first, however, be premised that the Dutch, on the transfer of the Maritime Provinces from the Portuguese to them at the beginning of the seventeenth century, while abandoning the Portuguese method of open force for the propagation of their religion,

adopted no less effectual measures to the same end. A Proclamation was issued that no rank or employment under their Government would be given to any who did not profess the doctrines of the Reformed Church of Holland, or what was known as the Helvetic confession, and, consequently, all who aspired to any dignity or office, assumed the name of Protestant Christians. By the Capitulation of Colombo, the request that the Dutch clergy and other ecclesiastical servants should be continued by the British in their functions was granted,²⁶ and Mr. North, on his arrival, found that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants were Protestant Christians in name, but with little knowledge of the doctrines or practice of the profession.²⁷

The principle of religious toleration laid down by the Court of Directors, promulgated in Mr. North's Proclamation of 23rd September, 1799, and reaffirmed by the Home Government after the transfer of the Maritime Provinces to the Crown, was interpreted in practice by Mr. North as "enforcing the due Observances of religious Duties in each Sect, and in each Religion, by its own particular Professors, and in procuring for each, as far as may be, proper teachers, and a decorous maintenance of open Worship."²⁸

It would be in accordance with this interpretation that Mr. North sought to promulgate the doctrines of Protestant Christianity among the sections of the people who had previously professed it, but, although Christianity still had official support, the element of compulsion was removed, and the number of Christians appears to have decreased considerably, especially after the cessation of the supply of funds to the parochial schools. Notwithstanding, Mr. North admits his knowledge that his action had been "considered in many Places as the Sign of a violent Spirit of Proselitism,"

20. Lord Valentia, *l.c.*

23. *Ib.* 106.

27. Cordiner, I. 155.

21. Despatch of 25th February, 1805.

24. Despatch of 19th October, 1805.

28. Despatch of 27th Feb. 1805.

22. Despatch of 15th Dec. 1801, § 107.

25. Despatch of 25th May, 1798, § 13.

26. Article 18th.

though he defends it by pointing out that the inhabitants "are to the Full as comfortable in their Consciences here and as contented as in any Part of India."²⁹

On his arrival in Ceylon, Mr. North found the Dutch clergy discharging their duties under the terms of the Capitulation of Colombo, but "the duties of public worship" were either "feebly discharged or entirely neglected," and he early set himself to improve the conditions. As he had no complaint to make of neglect of duty on the part of the Dutch clergy, but only of their small number of ten, he continued them in their duties of visiting the people.³⁰ Owing, however, to their obstinate refusal to pray for the King, they were not allowed the exercise of any acknowledged ecclesiastical authority, in the first instance.³¹ On the Proclamation of Peace, preceding the Treaty of Amiens, and the notification of the final cession of the Maritime Provinces to the British, which appears to have formed part of the Preliminary Articles,³² the Dutch clergy approached the Governor to be allowed to continue in their offices as subjects of His Majesty.³³ This was apparently allowed, and the Helvetic confession was given the support of the official Anglican Episcopacy.

In view of the small number of the Dutch clergy, Mr. North lost no time in making proposals for supply of "parish priests" for the Maritime Provinces. The suggestion was that one Sinhalese youth and one Tamil should be sent to England yearly to obtain a University Education, and, on being ordained, should return to Ceylon as "parish priests." In the first instance, it was estimated that about forty of these appointments would be necessary, but the number was later reduced to twenty.³⁴ The proposal was, however, unfavourably received by the Secretary of

State, and was definitely rejected in his Despatch of 13th March, 1801 (123). Mr. North was, accordingly, left to depend upon local recruitment from his "Academy" and other sources.

He was, however, fortunate in being able to secure the valuable services of the Revd. James Cordiner for Ceylon. The reverend gentleman had been sent out to Madras by Archdeacon Bell to attend to the schools there, but, on his arrival, found that his expected post had already been filled, and was, presumably, only too willing to accept Mr. North's offer of employment in Ceylon. He became Chaplain to the Garrison of Colombo, but, being the first, and, for a time, the only, English ecclesiastic in the Maritime Provinces, he was practically the head of the Church in Ceylon. It was among Mr. North's proposals that the Church should be governed by an Archdeacon sent out from England,³⁵ but this did not come to pass in Mr. Cordiner's time, the first Archdeacon being his successor, the Hon. Thomas James Twistleton, in 1818.³⁶ Towards the end of 1802, the intention of the Home Government to send some clergy from England became known³⁷ and it was probably in pursuance of this intention that the Revd. William Hamlyn Heywood was sent out, being gazetted Chaplain of Brigade from 3rd March, 1804.³⁸

It is not possible here to locate all the churches which existed in the Maritime Provinces at this time, but a brief note may be made on the Colombo churches of the day. At the beginning of the period under review, the "Government House" was the present St. Peter's Church in the Fort, while the garrison church stood on the site of the Gordon Gardens.³⁹ Both these buildings appear to have been anything but waterproof,

29. *Ibid.*

30. Despatch of 26th Feb., 1799, § 92.

31. Despatch of 18th Feb., 1801, § 260.

32. See *Gazettes* of 15th March, 1802, 24th May, 1802 and 17th Sept., 1802.

33. Despatch of 16th March, 1802, § 52.

34. Despatch of 26th Feb., 1799, § 92, Despatch of 30th Jan., 1800, § 32.

35. Despatch of 26th Feb., 1799, § 93.

36. Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*, 12.

37. Despatch of 24th Nov., 1802, § 113.

38. *Gazette* of 7th.

39. *Tombstones and Monuments*, 1.

but, as the church had no roof at all, the practice of holding divine service within "its naked walls"⁴⁰ was discontinued in favour of the hall of Government House.⁴¹

The other important Colombo church was that at Wolfendahl, built by the Dutch in 1740, and dedicated in 1757, from which date the Fort church was probably allowed to fall into disrepair.⁴² There appears to have been no Scots Church in Colombo at this time, but it is interesting to note that Mr. North arranged with the administrators of the Dutch Church to elect into their body the Hon. George Melville Leslie and William Boyd "who are members of the Kirk of Scotland,"⁴³ and it is not unlikely that others of the same persuasion attended Wolfendahl Church.

In the Despatches we find what is probably the first mention of Protestant missionary activity in Ceylon in British times. In the beginning of 1805, a Revd. Mr. de Vos, regularly ordained in the Dutch Church of the Cape, of which place he was a native, arrived with two others, as a missionary, with instructions from the Missionary Society in London, and a letter from Lord Hobart. But Mr. North was not willing that "these good men" should be independent of the civil or ecclesiastical government, nor that the government of the church should be left "under the direction of a Society, whose Principles indeed are highly venerable, but whose

Language appears enthusiastic," so he appointed the Revd. Mr. de Vos, to be Minister of the Church of Galle with a Government allowance of 107 rix-dollars a month, while Mr. Reid, one of his followers, was attached to him as catechiser and assistant, with a salary of 81 rix-dollars, and the other, a Mr. Erhardt, a native of Saxony, of the Lutheran persuasion, was to be engaged to form a church for that mode of worship and for the general instruction of the inhabitants.⁴⁴

With these additions to the Protestant ecclesiastical staff, its strength was somewhat as follows: the Chaplain to Government in Colombo, the Chaplain of Brigade, possibly stationed at Trincomalee, two Dutch preachers in Colombo, one at Jaffna, Mr. de Vos at Galle, Mr. Erhardt, numerous native preachers and catechisers.

We now come to the subject of poor relief, which Mr. North, on his arrival, found administered by associations of persons called, according to the Dutch custom, Deaconries or Diaconies. These bodies were given the alms collected in churches, fines inflicted by the Governor and the Fiscal, the produce of some gardens, and some other small perquisites,⁴⁵ the latter of which were commuted by Mr. North for money paid from the Treasury.⁴⁶ It was, however, found that the attention given by the Deaconries to the matter of accounts was not satisfactory in many cases, particularly

40. Cordiner, I. 35.

41. Cordiner, *l.c.* Pereival's statement (1st Edition, 165, 2nd Edition 124) that Wolfendahl Church was used for the troops is not corroborated by Cordiner and is probably incorrect. The statement that the Dutch did not complete the Church in the Fort does not appear to agree with Cordiner and is also probably incorrect. See *Tombstones and Monuments*, 1 Foot.

On Mr. North's arrival, the Government House was so leaky that he had to rent quarters elsewhere (Despatch of 27th February, 1799, paras. 119-120), and it seems to be improbable that it was again used as a residence. Such parts as were habitable were occupied by the Courts and public offices (Despatch of 30th January, 1800, para. 42). A Gazette notice of 17th March, 1804, to the effect that "Divine service will be held at Government House on Sunday at 4.30 p.m. until further notice" shows that its use as a church was continued (Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*, page 1). I am not sure that General MacDowall occupied Government House. I have a note that he took over the late Governor van Angelbeek's house on the death of the latter on 3rd September, 1799. This house passed into the possession of Government about the end of 1803 as part settlement of a deficit of over £10,000 in the accounts of the Paymaster General, the Hon. George Melville Leslie. (Despatch of 1st Jan., 1804, § 33). Leslie had married Miss Jacomina Gertruda van der Graaf, a niece of a Mr. van Angelbeek, a relative of the Governor's. Mrs. Leslie's uncle handed over the house to Government, and Leslie's account was credited with 35,000 rix-dollars. The balance of the deficit was eventually made up by about the end of 1805 by the payment of cash, and the transfer of Dutch credit briefen. This house is probably the one which was struck by lightning while in the occupation of Major General Wemyss on 19th April, 1805. It was later occupied by Governor Maitland (Cordiner I, 36). This authority says that this house was situated in the principal street, (I 34) apparently the present Queen Street. I am attempting to locate the house more exactly, particularly with reference to the site of the present Queen's House.

43. *Tomb. and Mon.* 101.

45. Despatch of 25th Feb., 1805.

47. Despatch of 26th Feb., 1799 § 95.

44. Despatch of 29th April, 1802.

46. The proceeds of the salt tax were given by the Dutch, *C.L.R.* II. 141.

at Galle, Jaffna, and later at Colombo⁴⁸, and a Committee of General Superintendence of Charitable Institutions was formed, on Mr. North's order, by January, 1800.⁴⁹ For convenience, this Committee was separated into two, one presided over by Major General MacDowall, which remained at Colombo, the other which assembled in the Governor's presence in all the stations at which he halted in his extended circuit in 1800.⁵⁰ By the end of 1800, a meeting of the Committee had been held in all the chief places of the Maritime Provinces, except Negombo and Kalpitiya⁵¹. But it was also found necessary to appoint Sub-Committees in all the Districts to attend to the distribution of the funds, under the control of the General Committee. The Sub-Committees were given control of the Deaconries in the places where they existed⁵². The Deaconries, which were protected by Article 8th. of the Capitulation of Colombo, were considered to have lost the benefit of that protection on the ratification of Peace Preliminaries in 1801, which settled the final cession of the Maritime Provinces to the British, and their functions appear to have been taken over by the Sub-Committees. The extent of the activities of these Sub-Committees may be gauged by the fact that the Colombo Sub-Committee, presided over by Major Wilson, spent a minimum of 750 rix-dollars per month, this being a reduction from 1450.⁵³

The last of the somewhat unusual sub-heads is medical relief, which was probably included under the head of "Religious Establishments", as a kind of charitable institution, some of the work being placed under the supervision of the Committee of Superintendence. Leprosy is the first disease which is mentioned as receiving treatment. A special hospital in Colombo was appropriated for the purpose, and placed in the charge of Dr. Joseph

Sansoni, a Ceylonese, who had been educated at Pisa.⁵⁴ Treatment with arsenic was found to alleviate the disease, but no permanent cure had been effected, though it was hoped that the discovery of the proper proportions of the drug might effect one.⁵⁵ So far, it was found to restore some degree of flexibility to the joints of the patients, and of facility to their respiration.⁵⁶

But small-pox was the malady which received the greatest attention at this time. To cope with the widespread ravages of this disease, Mr. North formulated an extensive scheme for inoculation against it. At first, three hospitals at Colombo, Trincomalee, and Jaffna were established for the treatment of the disease, a fourth at Galle being added later, and for inoculation. In each of the twelve smaller districts, a medical overseer was stationed to attend to the sick in their own houses, and to carry on inoculation. The estimated expense of this establishment was £9,000 *per annum*.⁵⁷

By August, 1800, the four hospitals appear to have been in working order under the charge of Messrs. Christie, Orr, Carnie, and Yates.⁵⁸ The chief work at these institutions was, apparently, that of inoculation of healthy persons from virus obtained from patients, but, in 1802, the possibility of vaccination—called by Cordiner⁵⁹ the "Jennerian improvement," from its discoverer Dr. Edward Jenner—became known in Ceylon. The difficulty of conveying the inoculating matter of the cow-pox to the Island seems, however, in the first instance, to have been a matter of great difficulty, Mr. North being of opinion that the only way to do it was to send out a sufficient number of persons from England or elsewhere to be inoculated, in turn, on the voyage, so as to keep the matter fresh.⁶⁰

48. Despatch of 18th Feb., 1801, § 197. Despatch of 20th April, 1803.

49. Despatch of 30th Jan., 1800, § 99.

51. Despatch of 18th Feb., 1801, § 191.

53. Despatch of 5th Oct., 1804; 1 rix-dollar may be taken as about equal to 2s. stg.

54. Despatch of 30th August, 1800, § 44.

56. Despatch of 15th Dec., 1802, § 25.

58. Despatch of 10th Aug., 1800, § 46.

50. Despatch of 10th Jan., 1800, § 41.

52. *Ibid.* 196—7.

55. Despatch of 5th Oct., 1801, § 65.

57. Despatch of 5th April, 1800.

59. I. 255.

60. Despatch of 16th March, 1802, § 60.

This cumbrous method was, however, found to be unnecessary, as one of several threads steeped in vaccine sent from Bombay was found to convey vaccine infection in a patient at Trincomalee inoculated on 11th August, 1802.⁶¹ The success of this particular thread wrought a complete change in the small-pox campaign in Ceylon. The four small-pox hospitals were no longer necessary. That at Colombo was given over to the treatment of lepers; the hospital at Galle became the Kachcheri; those at Jaffna and Trincomalee were sold; and the vaccine treatment was carried on, though with varying success owing to the war with Kandy and other difficulties.

Among the members of the Medical Department, the name of Thomas Christie is that principally associated with the interest shown in the treatment of small-pox in Ceylon

at this time. His frequent letters to the *Gazette* on the subject evince the sincerity of his interest, and the statistics given by him prove the success of his efforts. In June, 1805, he estimates the number of vaccine inoculations to be, up to that date, 33,000. He also gives as his opinion that not one half of the inhabitants escaped the disease, and one third of these died of it, and hence concludes that the 33,000 vaccine inoculations saved the lives of one sixth of that number, or 5,500 persons.⁶² His interest in this work, no doubt, went far to earn His Majesty's confirmation of his appointment as head of the Medical Department by the Secretary of State's Despatch of 7th May, 1803. In the same Despatch, Governor North is highly complimented for the interest shown by him in the introduction of vaccine inoculation.

61. Despatch of 10th Sept., 1802, § 89.

62. Letter of 20th June, 1805, in *Gazette* of 28th.



THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. V, Part III, page 137.)

XI. Jesuit Letters: 1639-1644.

1639.

[Diego Siqueiros d'Auren: 21 NOVEMBER, 1639.]

LAST year I wrote to your Paternity giving news of the war raging in this island, and of how our army was destroyed in the battle with the king of Candea, a pagan king, perverse and unfaithful, who has entered into a league and friendship with the Hollanders, sending them many elephants and precious stones that they may come and take the city of Colombo. Last March the Hollanders attacked the city, and because the pagan king did not stir they were unable to do much harm and only took the *fortaleza* of Triclimale. They are there still pondering the cost and result of everything, for the pagan king has made great preparations, and the Hollanders had to come with a large force as they promised.

In the affray at Goa three of our galleons were burnt, and vessels of the Hollanders begin to come to the side of Seilam to intercept the supplies that come to this city of Colombo. At the news of the Hollanders all the Religious and Vicars betook themselves to Colombo. I was inland in this church of Urgampola, without being able to go anywhere on account of the floods which had submerged the bridge which could not be crossed. Thus I prepared for death thinking each hour that they would cut off my head.

A few months ago one of our Fathers, Father Antonio Pedrosa of the army, was

wounded with a bullet which passed right through him. I had therefore to go with the army to take his place. I may tell your Reverence that I had to suffer much, not being accustomed to march. Often did I see death before my eyes, especially on the days when they attacked the enemy. (A thorn entered my foot and I was ill for several days).

On these occasions I experienced the marvels of divine grace in touching the hearts of those who had lived for years in sin. They themselves told me that had I not been here half the soldiers would not have gone to confession. In the next world your Reverence will see what the grace of God has accomplished.

I need not speak of the troubles I have to suffer in this my pilgrimage in a strange land. I often remember the words which St. Xavier said to Father Marcello Mansilhas: "*Abrenuncio Italiae.*" I bear up with my sufferings and often ask God to give me the grace to love Him till death. I hope your Reverence will not fail to console me with a reply to the many letters I have written to you.

Commending myself to the Holy Sacrifices of your Paternity,

Your unworthy son,

DIEGO SIQUEIROS D'AUREU.

From Urgampola in Seilam, 21st Nov., 1639.

1641.

[Manoel Sylveiro : 17 JANUARY, 1641.]

The College of Colombo and Its Residences.

There is little or nothing to be said of the mission and the doings of the Christians, for it is now three years since everything is in tumult, and the King of Candea and the Hollanders, whom he brought against the Portuguese, are up in arms for the destruction of the Portuguese. All this time the Fathers were retired within the walls of Colombo where there was no lack of work or suffering. As the siege was pressing and lasted long they ran short of victuals, the famine being so great that it affected all. As for work, though there were no missions, the Fathers had to go on their rounds of labour, watching under arms by night and hearing confessions by day. Many came to them for confession.

When the Hollanders took Nigumbo, which is at five leagues from Colombo and was a *fortaleza* only by name, being in truth only a *beluarte* which was more than enough against the natives, not only the pagans but even the very Christians began to destroy the churches, burning some and pulling others down so as not to leave a trace behind. And what gave most grief to Ours, and to the other Religious, is, that of so many thousands of Christians, for whose welfare they worked in so many churches in the island, very few and most rare were those who came to live with Christians: that is the natural characteristic of the Sinhalese, who only think of the present and never of the future, and who are so inconstant that there is nothing in them but 'Hurrah for the winning side.' Thus when the Hollanders were attacking the Portuguese they stood aside waiting to throw themselves on the side of the victors.

At the capture of Galle, where the hand of God rather than that of the Hollanders was against us, since in less than half an hour, according to a Dane who was there, more than 3,000 died on both sides, there were three of Ours, the two Fathers of the Residence of Galle, and another of Colombo who had gone with the army. There they worked marvels not only in the service of God but also in that of the King, and at length they were captured and taken to Jacatra along with the others, from which captivity they are already free.

When our first army was destroyed Father Antonio Soeiro was ever by the side of the Captain General Diogo de Mello. He fell with him, being done to death with lances

and beheaded. This Father was a formed Spiritual Coadjutor, of so great virtue that he was not only held for a saint throughout the island but was even considered to be a thaumaturgus. The army never set out without him because of the great edification he gave to all and because of his power with God. In his dealings with others he was ever humble and unworldly, but he was very rigorous with himself and very mortified. Never for the thirty years that he was military chaplain in this island did he take any bedding with him except for a mat which he carried under his arm. Nor did he eat anything else but rice from the *caldeirao* of the soldiers, though the Generals and Captains often offered him of their own.

When the army pitched camp he did not lodge with the General or Captains but in a place where those who wished to make their confession could find him alone and ready, and to give them an opportunity of coming to him for confession in the midst of so many thousands of people, he set up in the place in which he lodged his old hat stuck on a staff which he planted on the ground—like a flag hoisted in sign of victory not only over sin but over hell itself. As he spent the greater part of the night in this way hearing confessions, and the rest of it in prayer, he had no time for sleep. But as nature and human weakness demanded some rest, as soon as the day broke and the army set out, he put himself in the van, and marching two or three leagues ahead while the others were busy getting things in readiness, he gave himself to sleep on his mat with his old hat for a pillow. And when the rearguard came up they awakened him, and he marched with them. This is the way in which he gave rest to his old and wearied limbs. Though so severe with himself he was all kindness and charity towards others, especially towards the unfortunate and the sick, for whom he went to great lengths. When it happened that the General obliged him to take an *andor* by his side, at least when he was tired, he accepted it but never for himself, for he did not use it but gave it to a soldier who was too sick or too tired to walk any longer.

Some miraculous things which God wrought through him are recounted not only by the soldiers but throughout the whole island. I will mention only one, very well

known and done in the sight of all in a case of very great need. Once, when the army was on the march, it happened that they passed through a country where no water was to be found either for cooking or for drinking. They halted at a certain place and despatched thousands of lascoreens to find water, at least enough of it to quench their thirst which the fatigues of the march rendered insufferable. But however much they searched they could not find any water in all

that neighbourhood. This dismal news gave great distress to all. Seeing this the Father called out to some soldiers, from a little hillock, and ordered them to dig in a certain place which he pointed out with his finger. They dug and found water in such abundance that it sufficed not only for drinking, but even to cook for the whole army, thanks to God, and to the Father who worked such an extraordinary marvel.

An. Lit. Prov. Mal. fol. 483-4.

1642.

[Didacus Alfonsua :]

Collegium Ceilanense.

The chief item of interest which we have to record this year regarding the College of Ceylon is the vigilant care and assiduity displayed by the Fathers in hearing confessions and assisting the sick. As this island is the most important military station in the east (*praecipium totius orientis militum praesidium*), all the time of the Fathers is devoted to this work. They do not however neglect other works of piety. They visit those who are detained in prison; the Fathers and Scholastics of the College and even the school children carry food to them at stated times.

The oratory dedicated to St. Francis Xavier was closed for good reasons on the orders of the Visitor, Father Emmanuel D'Almeida. It did not, however, affect the devotion towards that saint, for the statue was carried with great pomp to an altar especially prepared for it in the College chapel, where it is visited by many people who bring offerings (*munuscula*). When the town of Colombo is threatened with some calamity the people flock to it. Some even take oil from the lamp that burns before the statue to anoint the sick therewith, and their faith is sometimes rewarded.

Since last January, besides many infants, more than 124 adults abandoned the errors of their ancestors and were regenerated at the sacred font. Some of these gave signal proofs of their new faith; for, falling into the hands of the Moors and called upon to apostatise, they resisted manfully even at the risk of their lives. Though for fear of the pagans they wore their beads and medals covertly, they nevertheless continued to pray as usual, beseeching God to send the Portuguese to their rescue so that they might live a Christian life in peace. Another Christian was captured by the pagans who asked him to accept their superstitious ashes as he used to do formerly. He replied that he was a Christian now and would not do such a thing. Thereupon they inflicted so many wounds on him that he died of them. They fell upon another Christian in like manner, but he, overcome by the intense pain, kept calling out the names of Jesus and Mary. The pagans tried to silence him by force, but he called out the more earnestly, repeating the self-same invocations, and they left him badly handled (*verberibus multatum*).

Ann. Lit. Malabar, fol. 495-6.

1643.

[Simao de Figdo : 1 DECEMBER, 1643.]

College of Colombo.

From the Fishery, which is the most barren and driest part of India, we turn to the most fruitful and fertile, namely, the island of Ceylon. Being a small island of not more than sixty leagues in length, and forty in breadth, with a circumference of one hundred and fifty, it has the following advan-

tages. In the mountains and rivers there are many precious stones, Sapphires, Rubies, Catseyes, and chrystals; in the forests cinnamon and sapan (*Sapaõ*) grow wild; and there are many elephants of so noble a breed that all others acknowledge their superiority²⁸⁵; the cultivated valleys are fruitful in coconut

285. "The Cingalese affect to say that their (Ceylon elephants') superiority is acknowledged by all other elephants." Bi-hop Heber's *Indian Journal* (1884) II. 159. Many writers said so: Tavernier II. 317; Baretto, *Relazione Delle Missioni*, (1845) p. 90; Ralf Fitch (1583); Hakluyt, *Principal Voyages*, III, 312. Friar Giuseppe di Santa Maria, *Speditione All'Indie Orientali* (1686) p. 143. Wouter Schouten, *J. C. B. R. A. S.* XI. 222. However, see Tennent II, 379-80.

and arecanut ; there are many thorn trees and fruit-bearing trees, cotton, sugar-cane and pepper ; of these three, owing to the richness and fertility of the land, Ceylon can yield a greater quantity than any other part of India. Even the sea, which in other places is for the most part useless, God has rendered precious and estimable in Ceylon ; for, besides a great quantity of amber, there are found large quantities of pearls and *aljofres*. So much so that the Paravers who dive for them have made their country truly illustrious by the name of the Fishery, which it bears, though it is not in the coast in which they live, but in the coast of Ceylon that the pearls and *aljofres* which they find and for which they are known throughout the world, are bred.

Of this island, the best of all the islands in the ocean, the capital is the noble and populous town of Colombo, in which the Religious of St. Francis, St. Augustine, St. Dominic, and of the Society have convents, from which as from border forts they set out to assault hell and conquer souls for heaven. For this purpose each Religious Order has its own prescribed limits. The part assigned to the Society is the Four Corllas or Comarcas, which lies to the West, from Colombo up to Manar. For this district we need forty or more priests, as some Captain-Generals and Dissávas of the island have testified. But on account of the many wars all that district is disturbed. We accommodate ourselves to the circumstances, so that in that part of the *Conquista* which is our charge we have only fourteen priests and two Lay Brothers to labour for the conservation of the old Christians who live in the town, or are in the army, which is continually on the move. This number is so small that it is hardly sufficient even for this work, for we have to instruct and preach, and to hear the confessions of all these people, who, in Lent, in time of Jubilee or at the hour of death, generally have recourse to our Fathers.

Of these fourteen priests two are teaching in the College, besides the two Brothers who do the domestic work, look after the Sacristy, and accompany the Fathers when they go out. Of the rest, two are in the 7 churches which we have in Calpeti and Putalao : one in the church of Chilao and in the 5 adjacent churches : one in the 3 churches of Madampe : another in the 2 of Caimel : one in Vergampeti : another in Urgampola ; another in Moratoo, and the last in the five churches of Matiagama. The last vicar of Matiagama was the late Father Pedroso who wrote as fol-

lows : The number of villages which fall on my shoulders, with the obligation of ministering to the Christians, not to speak of the pagans, is 1217. Among them is Visuave, which is the name of one only, though it (includes) ten others, many of them big villages. There is also Auleia, which is considered one (village) though it is made up of more than 60. I have the names of all these villages taken from a book in which there can be no mistake as it is from it that (the dues are collected). The number of Christians is 4,000.

From the number of the villages and souls which falls to the lot of this vicar one can easily imagine the number entrusted to the other priests who reside in the other churches. The manifest danger of death in which they all live can not be easily explained, but it can well be seen from the number of our Fathers of the Society who, after rendering great services to God and to the King of Portugal in this island, met their death at the hands of the Chingalas within less than thirty years. To begin with the first : In the rebellion which occurred when Nuno Alvares Pereira was Captain General, the Chingalas beheaded Father Joaõ Metela and Father Louis Matheus in the churches of Matiagama : In the rebellion in which the Captain General Constantino de Saa de Noronha lost his life the Chingalas beheaded Father Simaõ de Leiva who was with the troops, and Father Bernadino de Sena and Father Matheus Frz (Fernandez) who were in the churches of Pachalapali. In the rebellion which is still raging, and in which the Captain General Diogo de Melo de Castro was killed, the same Chingalas beheaded Father Ant. Soero and shot Father Ant. de Pedrosa. Father Pedrosa was not only wounded but taken prisoner along with the army to which he and his companion were attached. When the perfidious Hollanders took Galle with the loss of 900 of their men the same Father Pedroza was again seriously wounded. While he was being carried off the field on the shoulders of a young soldier he did not cease to animate the Portuguese soldiers to fight bravely in defence of the faith and the territories of the King, till at last the Capitao Mor Frcq de Mendonca Furtado was killed and our small army defeated. Father Pedroza was then taken captive to Jacatara along with two other Fathers of the Society, Luis Pinto and Ant. Delgado, who were within the fort fighting and animating the Portuguese to fight valiantly, as in fact they did, till tired of killing the Hollanders they were overcome

by the enemy who scaled the fort by a ladder of corpses and captured all who were found alive within.

And this year on the 8th of August the same Father Pedroza was killed and beheaded by the Chingalas while on his way from the church of Matiagama to the Portuguese camp to hear the confessions of the soldiers and to say Mass. In him our Society lost the best labourer this island has had for many years, and the King our lord lost a brave soldier and a Captain of such worth that the most distinguished Officers of this island respected him as a person whose courage, experience and prudence they recognised; and the Portuguese who have property in the Seven Corlas lost in him a powerful protector, and finally the Christians and pagans of those parts lost an affectionate Father whom they respected and loved like children. Thus, when this servant of God fell a prisoner to the Chingalas, they nursed him with great kindness till he recovered, and the King of Candea ordered a habit of another Religious who was also a prisoner to be given to him, but the Father returned it to the Religious and himself remained almost naked. The same King then sent him other clothes, and money for his expenses, but he gave everything to the other prisoners who were in great need, a thing which caused great surprise to these pagans. They especially admired his modesty and composure of eyes, so much so that the King once inquired whether he

was perhaps blind. It is said that this servant of God foresaw that the Lord wished to call him to Himself to give him the reward of his labours; for eight days before his death, when he was in the College of Colombo on the occasion of the feast of our Patriarch, he prepared for death with a general confession, telling his confessor that he did so in order to be prepared for anything that might happen. He was a Spiritual Coadjutor and was born at a place near Coimbra called Lavaos. He was a soldier and came to India out of affection for his brother who was a Jesuit. This Father Pedroza died on the way, and his brother thereupon determined to follow in his footsteps and entered the Society. In the Society he lived a life of great edification for twenty years. He was so affable to all that it may well be said of him that he was '*delectus Deo et hominibus.*' He leaves another brother who is also a Jesuit and is in Ceylon. May God make him a worthy imitator of his brother.

The negligence of the other Colleges of this province in sending information in time about the things done in the service of God during this year extends to the College of Colombo also, in which and in its Residences there certainly were many conversions of infidels to the faith, and of Christians to a better life; but as we have no details we leave out the matter here and will write about it, please God, next year.

An Lit. Malabar, fol. 510-11.

1644.

[Andre Lopez : 13, DECEMBER, 1644.]

The College of Colombo and its Residences.

This year on account of the wars with the Hollanders and with the Chingalas of this island, the Fathers were obliged to leave their Residences and betake themselves all to the College. The College however had no resources for their support, as some of the *aldeas* were taken from us and we were deprived of the income with which the College was kept up. The Rector therefore sent many Fathers out of the island, keeping in the College only those whose presence was absolutely necessary. But now that the matters, they say, are settled, not only the College but even the Missions will be duly manned. At present there are in the College, the Rector and three other Fathers and two Lay Brothers.

When the Hollanders took the *fortaleza* of Nigumbo they were so proud and elated with their victory that they wanted to march

by land against the town of Colombo. But their plans were known and they were met in great haste. The battle lasted three or four days and our men inflicted great loss on them. We lost only one young man who unwittingly exposed himself. When they saw him, the enemy returned to Nigumbo. During this time the Blessed Sacrament was exposed in our College and in the other churches of Colombo, and many confessions, a great many of them general confessions, were heard, and the people were greatly consoled and encouraged. This recourse to the Blessed Sacrament was continued till the beginning of Lent, when, as the sermons were well frequented, especially the Friday sermons, many people were brought back from an evil life of many years. In fact there were so many general confessions in Lent that we could not

keep count of them. During that time many reconciliations were effected between persons who otherwise would undoubtedly have caused sad results—duels and deaths.

While the Fathers were assisting their neighbour in spiritual matters they did not neglect the corporal needs of the sick, the prisoners, and the poor. They helped those who suffered from great poverty, not once or twice but often and in great abundance.

Many sailors were landed from a ship which unfortunately took fire and was burnt. The Fathers assisted the sufferers with great charity. Many of them, however, both pagans and Christians, died; some of the pagans were instructed and baptised, and the Christians made their confession repeatedly, and all met their death with great consolation of soul. It was not only the pagans that entered into eternal salvation, even the heretical Hollanders entered into eternal salvation, for some of them fled to us and were reconciled. They died of diseases which were the means whereby God used to give them health of soul and eternal life.

Eternal life was certainly granted by the Lord to a pagan, a rich native, of about eighty years or more. As he was ill a Father visited him and catechized and instructed him in all the mysteries of our holy faith, and finally baptised him. Half an hour afterwards he gave up his soul to his Creator, leaving all present much consoled by such a death full of signs of salvation. A similar case was that of a mother and son. The case was this. A Father going on a journey to hear a confession happened providentially to enter a house in which he found a Christian woman who had just given birth to a child. The mother made her confession and the infant was baptised and both died in the presence of the Father and went to receive the happiness to which, as we may piously believe, they were predestined. Many other sick persons made their

general confession and entered into eternal rest.

The Father in charge of the Residence of Calpetim had to leave the place on account of the wars. Before his departure he baptised ten persons, Moors, Chingalas and Belalas. When he asked one of them to consider what his baptism would cost him, for he lived among the pagan Chingalas and would lose all his property by the step, the good catechumen replied that even if he had to lose his life 300 times over he would not hesitate to become a Christian. The Father was much consoled by the good resolution of the new Christian and baptised him. God our Lord seems to have wished to console him with this and similar successes in reward for the many labours he had to undergo to minister to his flock.

His Residence is at a distance of 14 leagues, nine of which lay through the inland country in the midst of our enemies the Chingalas. Once they met the Father going to hear confession at a distance of ten leagues, but they did him no harm. When the Christians saw that the Father was obliged to go away on account of the wars and would not return for a time, they felt it very much and shed many tears. Many of them, both men and women, made their Easter confession, saying that when Lent came round they would not have the opportunity of doing it. They ascertained the fast days of Lent, and after his departure the Father heard that some of his Christians fasted the whole Lent while others did the same for half the time. When the Father was about to start a little girl, ten or twelve years old, came to him with a *fanam*, which is a gold coin worth some three *vintins*, in her hand, saying: "Father. I promised to give a *fanam* to the church," and put it into the Father's hand, for she thought that unless it was handed over to the Father himself she would not have kept her promise.

(To be concluded.)

Notes & Queries.

THE SAMPĒTURU ROUND TOWER.

By JOHN SCOTT. B.A., C.C.S.

HAVING been stationed at Mannár as Assistant Government Agent for over 3 years, I was much interested in Mr. Haughton's note on the SampĒturu round tower, (which appeared in Vol. V. Part I, pp. 44-5, of the *Ceylon Antiquary*). I visited the tower in December, 1906, and took some photographs of it, two of which I enclose for your inspection. If you think they are worth reproducing (they are poor specimens of the photographic art), and would be of interest to your readers, please make what use you like of them. [See Plate III.—ED. C. A.]

From the photograph of the base of the tower, it will be seen that it stands on a square moulded plinth about 3 feet high, and that the diameter of the tower proper is more like 12 or 15 feet than the 7 or 8 feet mentioned by Mr. Haughton. The tower appears to be built of brick.

The other photograph shows the tapering upper half of the tower, with an octagonal wooden staging built on the top, larger than the top of the tower itself, with its outer edges supported on wooden struts footed in the

brickwork below, and provided with a wooden railing. This platform was, I believe, erected by the Survey Department for triangulation purposes.

My recollection is that the original stone staircase inside the tower had crumbled almost completely away—and I gained access to the top by means of a wooden ladder, set up no doubt by the Survey Department. I have a vivid remembrance of the thousands of bats whirling and screaming about me as I climbed, and also of the sickening stench that pervaded their abode.

The local name of the tower is "Minará"—which I take to be a Tamilized form of the word "Minarette." I do not remember being able to see as far as South Bar from the top of the tower, but can call to mind the sea of palmyra, umbrella (*udai*), and baobab (*peruk-kai*) trees that met my gaze—interspersed with extensive clearings sown with flourishing crops of dry grains, particularly "*kampanipulla*," which grows as high as a man or higher and looks like bulrushes.

SCENE OF THE CAPTURE OF THE LAST KING OF KANDY.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

THIS was effected at Bómure, near Úrugala in the Medasiya Pattu of Uda Dumbara. There is a description of the place in the *List of Ceylon Inscriptions* which may be quoted here, with some omissions and alterations to bring it up to date.

The garden where the last King of Kandy was captured is approached by rather a long walk from the bend in the road just above Úrugala, downhill and through paddy fields and a piece of jungle. The house and *atuwa* which occupied the compound have disappeared. The late Kórála's father's mother



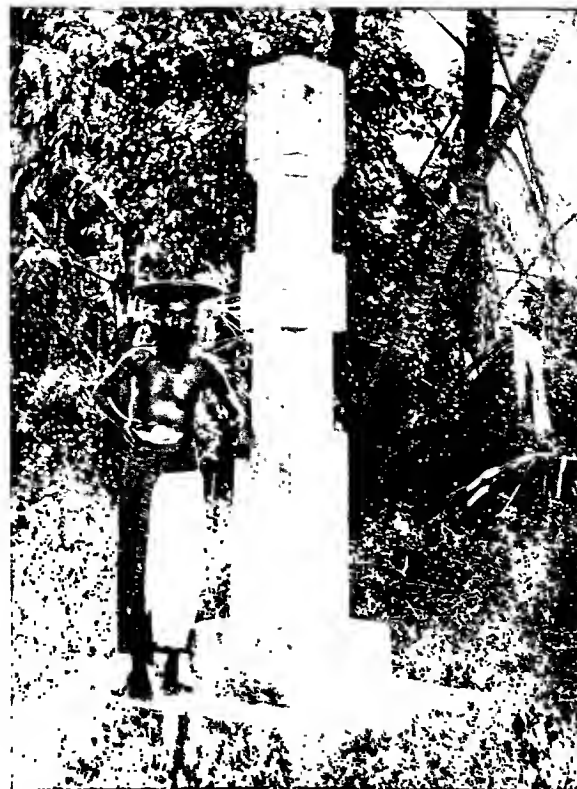
Photo by Mr. J. P. Lewis.



(Photograph by Mr. John Scott.)

STONE PILLAR AT BOMURE.

(Erected in A.D. 1908 by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S., Retired.)



SCENE OF THE CAPTURE OF THE LAST KING OF KANDY.

was daughter of the man who lived here at the time and sheltered the king. His name was Udupitiye Appurāla, and the land still belongs to his family. There are a tamarind tree and two coconut trees still standing, which were said to have been there at the time of the capture.

An old man named Higgahapitiyegedara Appuwa, who lives in the next compound, informed the writer in 1907 that he remembered the house; it was square and thatched with straw, but 'like a *walawwa*.' He pointed out where it had stood, also the site of the *atuwa* and outbuildings. He says he is 80, and ceased to pay road tax 20 years ago, which would make him 75 at least. He also pointed out Gallehewatta on the other side of the fields, which was the King's coconut garden. This place, 'Gallehewatta,' is mentioned in the account of the Kandyan war of 1803, written "by an Officer employed in the expedition," as the place where the King was captured. (See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, vol. X., 'The Antiquities of Medamahanuwara' by J. H. F. Hamilton, C.C.S.)

For accounts of the capture, see *Ceylon*, by Henry Marshall, p. 157; *Ceylon Miscellany*, vol. I., 1842, p. 145.

There is no doubt from tradition that the actual spot was the garden I visited. The old man told the writer that the King came from Urugala, along the Udupitiye-ela, and the Malay soldiers through the fields (there was a detachment of the 1st Ceylon Regiment under Captain Mylius in pursuit of the King). The Udupitiye-ela comes from Medamahanuwara, and the Meda-ela, a branch of it, goes to Bómure. He also stated that "15 years ago" there were arecanut trees standing on the boundary of this garden, on which the marks of the bullets fired by the Malays could be seen. The name of the garden is Udupitiyegedara.

I considered that a historical site like this should be Crown property and should be marked in some way so that its identity should be known; for it is quite likely that in a few years this would be forgotten or suggested only by the vaguest tradition, applying equally perhaps to other sites in the neighbourhood. Consequently I took upon myself, as Government Agent, to recommend to Government the acquisition of the site and the erection on it of a Kandyan pillar

that might be visible from the high main road. These suggestions were approved and carried out.

The pillar had to be carried across the paddy fields by a tusker elephant (only a tusker could carry it safely) to the site. It stands on a step, and is 9½ ft. in height, including the step. It is of Kandyan shape, but quite plain. It is visible from within 100 yards of the 20th milestone on the high road across the valley, on the top of a conical hill rising out of the paddy fields. It will have to be painted white to make it more conspicuous from the road. Near it is a tamarind tree, which from its appearance, no doubt, stood there when the King was captured. This site is accessible by descending the hill below the road at the 20th mile, crossing the paddy fields, and ascending the opposite hill, or by the path first mentioned.

The stone bears the following inscriptions in English and Sinhalese :—

SRI WIKRAMA RAJA SINHA

CAPTURED HERE

18 FEBRUARY, 1915.

Erected

A.D. 1908.

I should add that my original intention was that the pillar should be surmounted by some Kandyan emblem, and I tried a Kandyan lion—had a model of one made of clay and tried the effect, but it was not a success and I could devise nothing else—besides, there was no more money, so I abandoned the idea. I have since come to the conclusion that the pillar is best as it is and quite symbolic in fact. There is the pillar, complete and artistic, homogeneous and intact—but it has no Kandyan head. That perforce disappeared in 1815, and in its former shape can never come back but has been merged in something much greater, to the benefit of the Kandyans and everyone else.

The accompanying illustration (see Plate III) for which I am indebted to Mr. Morley Spaar, Superintendent of Minor Roads in the

Kandy District, and Mr. P. M. Bingham, Provincial Engineer, of the P. W. D., Kandy. shows the pillar. The headman standing by it is the late Kórāla of Medasiya Pattu, who,

unfortunately for himself, took part in the riots of 1915, received a sentence of seven years' imprisonment and died in the Jaffna gaol.

TOPASSES.¹

By L. E. BLAZÉ, B.A.

[THE following is an extract from *Letters from Malabar* written in Dutch by J. C. Visscher. Translation by Major Heber Drury, Madras Staff Corps, published in 1862 at Vepery. We are indebted for the extract to Mr. L. E. Blazé who got it from a copy of the work in the Library, Trivandrum (Travancore).—Ed. C. A.]

"There are a certain Christian people to be found in this country of Malabar, and throughout the extensive coasts of India, called Topasses,¹ who cannot be reckoned as belonging exactly either to the Europeans or the natives, but from (*sic*) a third class. They are a mixed race: some are sprung from Portuguese settlers and slaves, whose children have inter-married with blacks: but the greater part are the offspring of enfranchised Portuguese slaves. With these we must also reckon freed slaves of all races; including Christian slaves, who are chiefly of the Romish persuasion.

"The name Topas is curious. It is supposed to be derived from two Portuguese

words *Tu Pai* ("thou boy") because the Portuguese in early times, having taught their language to the slaves born in their house, made use of them as interpreters in dealing with the natives, and were in the habit of saying *Tu Pai falla aquel* or 'you boy, say so and so.' There seems to be a glimpse of truth in this account: for they still call the oldest and most respected slaves '*Pai*.' "

"Others refer this word *koepaj*, which in the Malabar language signifies a coat; for they wear coat, shirt, and breaches (*sic*), like the Europeans, as likewise a hat, in sign of their freedom, and the more wealthy among them wear shoes and stockings, though more generally they go barefoot. But in my opinion the origin of this name must not be ascribed to *koepaj* ("coat") but rather to *Toepay* ("interpreter"); because the race served as interpreters between the people of Malabar and the Christians; and to this day the same office is exercised by many of them and is esteemed a very honourable profession."

1. For previous references, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II., pp. 62, 124, 191, 282.

1. "The East Indian community which is here alluded to has undoubtedly undergone a great change since the days of our author, consisting of numerous families in all parts of the country most of whom are of high respectability and usefulness. The term *Topass* has fallen into disuse, but it is singular enough that, to the present day, the Europeans in India invariably call 'Boy' wherever they require their servant, East Indian or native." [Note by Major Drury].

2. "According to others *Tupasi* is derived from the Sanscrit word *Duibhashi*. *Dui* signifies 'two,' and *Bhashi* 'a man who speaks two languages; an interpreter.' This name, indeed, may with propriety be given to the *Tupasi*, for besides their mother tongue, they speak some one of the European languages, either English, French, Dutch or Portuguese. At Cochin they are called *Gens de Chapeau*, because they wear a *Topi* or small hat; whereas the other Indians, not descended from Europeans, make use of the *Romali*, i.e. a white turband of "the finest muslin. Bartolomeo." (*Ibid.*)

THE OLD ROUTE TO ADAM'S PEAK.

BY A. J. W. MARAMBE, R.M.

THE old path from Dambadeniya was built by Weerasingha Patiraja who held office as Prime Minister under Pandita Parakrama Bāhu, and Bhuvaneka Bahu who succeeded the former, about the year 1270. The path was constructed at the request of Pandita Parākrama Bahu.

The capital of the island at the time was Dambadeniya and the path was first built from Dambadeniya to Kandy and thence to Adam's Peak. The old route from Dambadeniya to Kandy is not known to me; but the route from Kandy to the Peak can easily be traced.

The following are the villages through which the path was built and at certain places the path is still visible.—from Kandy through Getambe, Kalugomuwa Atabāge, Naranvita, Gampola Wela, Tembilgala, Ulapane, Pallagama, Warakāwa, Nēwalapitiya, Rambukpitiya, Keluelgomuwa, Kalugammala Udabāge, Pallabāge, Bokarabewila, Makulumulla, Hangarapitiya, Welimaluwa, Aluoya and through peak forest to Idikatupāna and thence to the Peak.

It is said that bridges were put up over the following rivers: Atabage-oya at Atabāge over Mahaveliganga at Naranvita, over

Ulapane-oya at Ulapane and over Kahawaturu-oya at Ambagamuwa. There is no reference that any bridges were put up over Kehelgomuwa and Kelani Ganga at Paliebage and over Aluoya near the Peak forest.

It is said in the *Mahāvamsa* that the Minister planted Bo-trees every fourth mile along the route, and these trees are still in existence. Ambalams were also built at different places, and the ruins of some of them are still to be seen. The *Mahāvamsa* also says that he made rock inscriptions at several places along the path some of which are in existence, two near the Peak and a lengthy one at Ambagamuwa called Akuru-Ketupāna (meaning "rock on which letters are engraved.")

After constructing the path this Minister built a wall at the top of the Peak and two shrines, one over the foot-print and the other for the golden image of God Saman Devīyo which he got made at Gampola. The place where the bridge was built over the Mahaveliganga at Naranvita is also called Bōtala-tota where at present the several devāles come for the water-cutting ceremony. Bōtala-teta means "a ferry near which a bo-tree was planted." There is a bo-tree in existence here now.

"ADUKKU."

1. BY REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

MR. T. B. P. Kehelpannala (in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 94) says he does not agree with me "that *aḍukku* is a Tamil word adopted by the Sinhalese." I should have liked to see how

the word is traced to any other but a Tamilian root. The true radical of the word, as I already stated, is the Tamil "*aḍu* expressing the idea of nearness." *Aḍukku* is not only a verb in Tamil but a noun also, as will be seen

from the quotation Mr. Kehelpannala himself makes in his foot-note 9 from Winslow : and it is to be noted that one of the meanings of the noun is 'preparation.' Winslow does not give this meaning separately although it occurs in the phrase *aḍu kup-parṇukiratu* which he gives. If this sense is taken, the Kandyan use, directly meaning food and not the dishes, will perhaps be better explained.

When food is directly meant another sense of the root *aḍu* should perhaps be taken as the origin of *aḍukku*. As Caldwell has remarked,¹ the rudimentary base of *aḍu* is *aḍ* from which radiate such secondary root as

aḍu, come near, cook, kill, unite, belong to
aḍanku } be contained, enclose
aḍakku }
aḍi, drive in, beat

II. BY S. W.

IN his Note on "*aḍukku*," Mr. T. B. P. Kehelpannala contends that the word is not derived from Tamil, but is of indigenous origin.

He bases his contention mainly on the fact that the term, as used by the Kandyans, denotes "*cooked food*" offered to the Kandyan Chiefs and their families, or to their gods (*dēviyo*). He further finds fault with the meaning of "*aḍakku*" as given in the *Glossary of Native, Foreign and Anglicized words*, published by Government, and points out that what is meant by this word is not the "set of trays or dishes" in which provisions are offered, but the cooked food contained therein.

Mr. Kehelpannala, who is so keen on the application of "*aḍukku*," is disappointingly silent on its etymology. He leaves his readers in the lurch by his failure to comment on the origin of the Sinhalese verb "*aḍukku-karanawa*," and to show whether this verb and the Kandyan "*aḍukku*" are radically the same, or whether they are different words which have assumed the same form.

aḍai, attain, get in, roost, enclose
aḍaisu, stuff in
aḍar, be close together, join battle
aḍukku, pile up
aḍu, approach

which all contain the generic notion of nearness expressed by the first or base syllable *aḍ* : whilst each, by means of the second syllable or particle of specialisation denotes some particular species of nearness." And our *aḍukku* may very well be from *aḍu* in the sense of cooking. We have from this root *aḍuppu* - fire-place ; *aḍḍil* and *aḍukkaḷai* - kitchen ; and *aḍisil* - boiled rice or cooked provisions in general.

At all events how *aḍukku* could originally have been anything but Tamil is not clear to me.

COOMARASWAMY.

The mere fact that "*aḍukku*" is employed by the Kandyans in the sense of cooked food offered to the Kandyan Chiefs and gods, does not necessarily imply that it is a native term.

To prove that it is not a loan word in the Sinhalese language its antiquity should be established by quotations from ancient Sinhalese writers, and a satisfactory derivation from a Sinhalese root furnished. In the absence of such an account the presumption would be in favour of the derivation of the word from a foreign source. To an unbiassed philologist who is aware of the prominent part the Dravidians have played in the history of the Island of Ceylon, and of the large number of Dravidian words which have found their way into the Sinhalese language, the derivation of the Sinhalese "*aḍukku*" from the Tamil, "*aḍukku*" can neither be a matter of surprise nor a piece of unwelcome information.

In Tamil there are two different words bearing the same form "*aḍukku*." One comes from the verb *aḍu* அடு—'to cook, to dress

¹ *Dravidian Literature of Ceylon*, 3rd Ed., p. 207.

food, to boil, to roast, to fry" etc., and signifies "cooking or dressing food" as in the Tamil-Malayalam expression "*aḷukkaḷai*" அடுக்கலை (ex *aḷukku* அடுக்கு and *aḷai* அலை—a room or cell.)—"cook-room" or "kitchen." The word "*aḷukku*" அடுக்கு is primarily a verbal noun from *aḷu* அடு with suffix *ku* கு, but it may be employed to denote "dressed food." The employment of a verbal noun in a concrete sense is sanctioned by Tamil usage, and verbal nouns so employed are called *aku-peyar* அகுபெயர்—metonymic names.

Compare the Tamil words *poriyal* புறியல் (ex *pori* புற to fry), *vaṇṇal* வண்ணம் (ex *vaṇṇu* வண்ண—to dry), *irukku* இருக்கு (ex *ir* இ to divide into two) and *uḷukku* உடுக்கு (ex *uḷu* உடு to put on, to dress), which in form are verbal nouns, but serve to designate a fry, dried fruit or meat, midrib of palmyra or coconut leaf, and cloth respectively.

The following expressions, which are deeply rooted in the Tamil language, will shew that the verb *aḷu*, whence *aḷukku*, is as old as the language. *Aḷisil* அடிலில் (= *aḷu* + suffix *sil*)—cooked food, or food in general.

Aḷḷil அட்டில் (= *aḷu*—reduplicated form of *aḷu*, plus, *il*—house)—cook-house.

Aḷḷu அட்ட (as in *panāḷu* பனாட்டு palmyra jelly)—cooked or prepared provisions.

Aḷuppu அடுப்பு (primarily a verbal noun from *aḷu*) fire-place or hearth.

The verb *aḷu* has moreover several other different meanings such as *to join*, *encounter*,

to kill, *to destroy*, *to pound* and *to oppress*. It is a pure Dravidian word sprung from the root *aḷ* அட—to join.

From the same root is derived the Tamil verb *aḷukku* அடுக்கு (*aḷ*+euphonic *u*+formative suffix *ku*) which means *to put in contact*, *to pile up*, *to heap up*, *to arrange*, etc. The Tamil expression *aḷukku-kiratu* அடுக்குகிறது corresponds exactly to the Sinhalese *aḷukku-karanawā*,⁶ which in all probability owes its origin to it. The substantive form of the Tamil verb is *aḷukku* அடுக்கு which is grammatically a verbal noun and as such is liable to be used in a concrete sense. Its meanings are as numerous as those of the verb, and, in kitchen parlance, it signifies the necessities for the preparation of food. The noun *aḷukku* is met with in numerous Tamil compound names of which the following are worth mentioning here :—

Aḷukku-peḍḍi அடுக்குப்பெட்டி. A set of baskets fitting one into another. In Malabar this expression or the word *aḷukku* alone is said to be used to designate a set of cane baskets or trays in which cooked food is carried. If *aḷukku* should mean food-carrier, its application to the contents thereof would constitute a figure of speech called *aku-peyar* அகுபெயர் (Metonymy).

The Kandyan *aḷukku-peṭṭiya*, which closely resembles the above Tamil-Malayalam expression, is alleged to mean *primarily food basket*, and to answer to what in the Low-country is called *bat-peṭṭiya*. This is far from probable in view of the fact that the component

2. The Sinhalese *karāwā* or *trāḷ* කරාව, ට්‍රාල් which corresponds to *irukku* is probably derived from the same Dravidian root as இடு or இடுத—to divide into two.

3. *Uḷukku* உடுக்கு, another verbal noun from *uḷu*, is also employed in the sense of *cover*. Both the words *uḷukku* and *aḷukku* have a further signification, viz., a small drum or tambourine. This is probably due to the fact that the word is stretched over the opening or opening of the wooden cylinder or hoop of the musical instrument.

4. This word occurs in the oldest Tamil work extant, viz., the Tamil Grammar *Tolkāppiyam* தொல்காப்பியம், which is supposed to be older than the Sanskrit Grammar of Panini.

5. Cf. Sn. A. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

6. This is included in the list of naturalised and derived words from Tamil &c. given in A. M. Gunasekera, *Sinhalese Grammar*, p. 256.

parts in *aḍukku-peṭṭiya* are words of Dravidian origin traceable to the Tamil *aḍukku* and *peṭṭi*, and the compound *aḍukku-peṭṭiya* is therefore equally traceable to the Tamil compound *aḍukku-peṭṭi*, and it is absurd to suppose that the loan word did not bear originally the same signification as the Tamil *aḍukku-peṭṭi* does.

The Kandyan usage of the noun "*aḍukku*" presumably grew out of the customary use in the Kandyan districts of an *aḍukku-peṭṭiya* (or set of baskets) to carry cooked food or other provisions to the Kandyan Chiefs. The Tamil-Malayalam *aḍu* (to cook) and its derivative *aḍukku* may have also influenced the usage.

Aḍukku-pānai அடுக்குபானி. This means a number of earthen pots placed one upon another. Of the same import is the Kandyan *aḍukku-walan* in *aḍukku walankada* where *aḍukku* obviously refers to the arrangement of the vessels rather than to the food offered therein to the Kandyan magnates.

Aḍukku-chaddi அடுக்குச்சட்டி. brass or earthen *Chatties* (pans) placed one upon another. The *chatties* so arranged in the kitchen are an indication of the number of curries dressed for the table.

Mr. Kehelpannala who seems very reluctant to admit the Tamil origin of "*Aḍukku*"

would do well to enquire into the origin of the very name Kandy after which the Up-country Sinhalese are called. He would no doubt be surprised to know that the name is Dravidian (i.e. Malayalam) and that it conveys the meaning of *mountain pass* or elevated ground. Unlike the Sinhalese *Kande* (where the *n* and *d* are dental to which the name Kandy is generally traced, the Malayalam *Kaṇḍi* (where the *n* and *d* are cerebral), bears the same form as "*Kandy*," and, in view of the social customs that are common to both the Malayalis and the Kandyans, it is most probable that the name Kandy was given by the ancient Malabar settlers in the Kandy district.

The following extract from A. M. Gunesekara Mudaliyar's *Sinhalese Grammar*,⁷ will bear testimony to the Dravidian influence on the Sinhalese tongue :

"Ceylon began to be visited by the people of Southern India speaking Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and other Dravidian languages thereof, about the third century before Christ. They carried on constant warfare with the Sinhalese, at times establishing their supremacy, and have continued to hold a close connection with the Island in various ways..... The study of medicine and astrology from Tamil treatises and the writing of books in Sinhalese by persons acquainted with the Dravidian languages, also contributed a large quota of words..... Dravidian words have had a strong hold on the language."

GRANDPASS.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S

PENDING further discussion on the location of Grand Pass, I should like to mention with reference to Mr. Petch's paragraph on the point of Captain Winkelmann's post near the mouth of the river (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V. Part III, page 123,) that the statement is a quotation from Tombe. Is it not possible that this

post was an observation one, from which a withdrawal would be made to the main body as soon as the British were seen to be about to cross? With regard to the road between the points 1 and 7, this road is shown complete in Cordiner's map, of which mine is a copy.

7. Vide Dr. Gunesekara's *Malayalam and Sinhalese Dictionary*.

8. The word *kaṇḍiya* in the Sinhalese place name *aḍukkuwa* is another derivative from the Malayalam *kaṇḍi*. This Mal. word is traceable to the Sanskrit root *khad*—to break, to cleave.

9. Vide pp. 355 and 356.

MULLERIYÁVÉ—VEVA.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

WITH reference to Mudaliyar G. E. Weerakoon's paper on this subject (vide *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, Pt. III, pp. 148-151), the following, taken from a "List of Antiquities in the Western Province" compiled in 1886, will be interesting :—

"It appears that King Parákrama Báhu of Kótte, having made a solemn declaration or vow to construct eighteen tanks for some mistake committed by him, constructed seventeen, and finding that one more, was wanted, sent his ambassador, called Wépa Tissa, to find out a suitable place, who after searching in many parts of the country, found Mulleriyáva to be the best place, owing to the proximity of the large tracts of paddy fields that could be irrigated. Wépa Tissa informed the King of his discovery, who approved of it, and ordered a commencement of work, which was completed in a very short period.

"This work appears to have stood firm under the careful management of the officers of the Sinhalese kings until the Dutch took possession of the maritime provinces of the island, when, notwithstanding the attention paid by the Dutch Government, several breaches were effected at different times, and were repaired. It appears from the report of Sir Charles Layard that the Dutch Government not only effected repairs but tried to make certain improvements to the tank. During the advent of the British the bund of the tank again broke near the place called Ēl-ówita, which was repaired : and many other improvements were made during the Government of Sir Thomas Maitland, about the year 1809.

"By these improvements and frequent repairs an area of about 3,000 acres were irrigated in the villages Welíwita, Mullériyáva, Ambatelempahála, Málábe, Koratota, Talangama and Kaduwela till the year 1855, when, by a heavy flood, the water in the tank rose, and overflowing the bank or bund near the

place called Ēl-ówita, or Welipilléwa, a large heap of sand accumulated, by the pressure of which a breach was effected. When the flood subsided the bridge across the Ambatalé-ela was carried away, and about half the tank was dry. No sooner this occurred some of the villagers, in spite, broke the bund at the place called Andiyakadulla, by which the tank was cleared of the little water that was left. These two large breaches having occurred one after the other the repairs were neglected, and people commenced to cultivate the land within the bund of the tank.

"The works consisted of two tanks, one large and the other small : but if they are to be repaired, the villagers state that the smaller tank is not required as the larger one alone will irrigate double the area of lands contained in the above-named villages. There are several breaches : two are very large, the rest are from 6 to 15 or 20 ft. ; many of them were caused by frequent floods and cattle.

"Mr. Woodward, in his report, states that the tanks are not filled by rainwater only, but supplemented by floods, which, according to information given, is incorrect. The villagers state that if the tanks are restored they can be easily filled by rainwater alone. If the tank is to be restored the bunds should be thoroughly repaired, the breaches being filled in. A spill-water, as suggested by Mr. Woodward, and sluices, gates, and channels would be advisable. The channels must be deepened and widened according to the position of the tracts of fields they would irrigate.

"When the tank was in good order about 2,500 acres of land appear to have been irrigated, and 560 bushels of cultivated land were submerged out of the irrigated lands, paying half duty, quarter duty, and the remainder one-tenth duty : and after the bund was broken only 640 bushels of land were cultivated. By the restoration of the tanks a part of the road from Kaduwela to Kótté, between the 10th and 11th mile posts, will be submerged, and it will have to be raised about 7 ft. to be over water-level."

EDWARD ATKINSON.

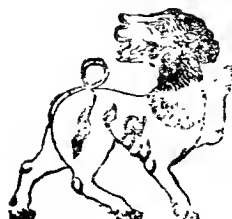
By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

WITH reference to Mr. J. P. Lewis' note on Edward Atkinson in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, (Vol. V., Part III, page 153,) this officer was a "Senior Merchant of the East India Company." He was "sent back" to India in September, 1799, on the discovery of irregularities in his office. At an enquiry into these, he informed the Military Board that he considered the deriving to himself of pecuniary advantages by sending in false returns to be an allowable, though not avowed, emolument of the office of Commissary. As Paymaster, he kept no

books at all, and there was evidence that he and the other Paymasters made large profits by paying for specie at the authorised rate of exchange and selling it in the bazaar at the enhanced market rate.¹ He appears to have held the offices of Commissary and Paymaster General, at the same time. He was succeeded by Gavin Hamilton as Paymaster General, while the post of Commissary appears to have been suppressed, its duties being taken over by the Barrack Master, Captain Blair.²

1. *Despatch* of 30th January, 1800 paragraphs 18, 23, etc.

2. *Ibid.*



Literary Register.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS.

HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

Causes of their Origin.

IN view of numerous enquiries in regard to the Kandyan Pensioners—enquiries arising out of a petition for monetary relief submitted to the Ceylon Legislative Council very recently—and to the circumstances in which they began and continued to be a charge on the Government of Ceylon, it will be interesting to reproduce the following report to the Colonial Secretary, made in 1871, by the Hon'ble John Douglas, who was Auditor General of Ceylon at the time :—

No. 157.

Audit Office.
Colombo, 15th June. 1871.

Sir,

In submitting a Report on the subject of the Kandyan Pensioners of the Ceylon Government, based upon the inquiries which I have recently made at Madras, as well as at Vellore, Madura, Tanjore, and Negapatam,

where the bulk of these pensioners are located, I propose dealing with the question under the three heads. 1st, of the History of the Pensions and of the causes of their origin: 2nd, the present condition of the Pensioners; and 3rd, the steps which it is desirable to take for the ultimate extinction of the Pensions, or for the immediate benefit of certain of the Pensioners.

1. History of the Pensions and of the Causes of their Origin.

2. Upon the demise of Kirthi Simmala Rajah, king of Kandy, in the year 1778, without issue, he was succeeded, as has often been the case in Indian States as well as in Ceylon, by his brother-in-law, Rajadhi Rajah Sinha; and the new king, having quarrelled with the Dutch, who then occupied the low-country, invited the assistance of the English from India for their repulsion: and though this assistance was at first declined, at a later date Trincomalee, and afterwards Colombo, were occupied by the British troops in 1795.

3. Three years after this, Rajadhi Rajah Sinha died without issue; he had however married three wives, the first and third of whom, Alamaloo Amah and Renganaikie Amah, were sisters, while the second, Opeantea Amah or Oobendramah, was first cousin to the other two. The first and third queens had six brothers, Mootoosamy, Bungaroomsamy, Kunnessamy, Chinnasamy, Appoosamy, Ayasamy, and Ramasamy; while the second queen had one brother only, named Konde-samy. It is well too to mention, that the

whole of the royal family, their wives and relations, belonged to a powerful Indian tribe of the Gentoo caste, originally called Naideo in the Telegu country, but afterwards Naick at Madura and Tanjore; to the reigning princes of which places they were somewhat closely related. It is asserted by the relatives of Mootoosamy, in a history of the family which has been handed to me by them, that Rajadhi Raja Sinha nominated on his death-bed his brother-in-law, Mootoosamy as his successor to the Kandyan throne: but that, as neither Mootoosamy nor any of the other six brothers had at that time any children, he left power to the queens to adopt, as final successor, one of the sons of his brothers-in-law (when they should have issue), as might be agreed upon between them.—a disposition of his crown which sounds apocryphal to European ideas, but which is by no means uncommon in Hindoo successions.

4. On the king's death, however, the prime minister, Pilame Talawe, placed on the throne Vickrema Rajah Sinha, a relation of the Kandyan dynasty; but having undoubtedly no direct claim to the throne beyond that of selection. Two brothers of Mootoosamy's, Bungaroosamy and Ramasamy, were detained as hostages at Kandy; while the other four, with Mootoosamy himself, were directed to return to the Carnatic, to be out of the way.

5. Following, however, the same *modus operandi* as that pursued in Southern India, the British authorities espoused the cause of Mootoosamy, took Kandy in 1803, and placed him on the throne on the 23rd March of that year; concluding a treaty¹ with him subsequently (of which a copy is annexed), from which it will be seen that considerable advantages were secured to the English in reward for their services; while, as a sop to Pilame Talawe, the tributary sovereignty of Kandy was virtually secured to him for his life-time; it being apparently intended that Mootoosamy should reside and hold his Court at Jaffna.

6. In the meantime, on the first news of the agreement between Mootoosamy and Mr. North, one of the hostages, Bungaroosamy, was put to death by Vickrema Sinha; reducing the number of the brothers-in-law of Rajadhi Rajah Sinha to six.

7. As is well known, the agreement with Pilame Talawe did not last long. As soon as the bulk of the British forces were withdrawn from Kandy, Vickrema Sinha, who had escaped into the jungle, reappeared on the scene, the English garrison were treacherously massacred; and Mootoosamy, his brother Kumarasamy, uncle Gahbileeamy, and others, were all put to death. The number of the brothers-in-law of Rajadhi Sinha was thus reduced to four.

8. I have seen at Negapatam the letters which were then written to Moodoo Cunnumah, Mootoosamy's widow, and his brothers, who were at the time in the low-country, acquainting them with his death, and later on, of an inroad of Kandyans by which their safety was endangered, and counselling them to remove to one of the southern ports of India till Kandy should be retaken.

9. In 1806 a letter was addressed by Mr. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to the Ceylon Government, to the Government of Madras, stating that it was expedient that Moodoo Cunnumah should be removed to the coast of India, and asking permission for her to proceed to Karical, where she had, herself, expressed a desire to reside. This was of course granted, and she appears to have been accompanied by Anglesamy and Mootoosamy, two brothers-in-law of a previous king, Kirthi Simmala, of whom mention has been made above; thus constituting the first batch in order of time among the Kandyan pensioners, voluntary exiles in this instance, who were, however, liberally allowed by the Ceylon authorities.

1. See Appendix.

Deportations to India.

10. Nine years later, in 1815, Kandy was again captured by the British, and the Kingdom annexed; Vickrema Sinha, his near relations, and adherents, being made prisoners of war. A number of these were at once sent overland, viâ Mannár, to Madura and Tinnevely; Vickrema himself,—with his mother, four wives, and a party of fifty in all,—was sent in H.M.S. "Cornwallis" to Madras, to be transferred thence to the Fort of Vellore, in January, 1816. A subsequent batch of thirty-one relatives and thirteen others were sent over in the "Lark" two months later, and located also at Vellore. This constitutes the second category of Kandyan pensioners.

11. The third and last category, which is however nearly allied to the first, were deported in July of the same year. It consisted of the three widows of Rajadhi Sinha and the surviving brothers of Mootoosamy, with other relations, in all twenty-three of that section of the royal family, who, with eleven servants, were sent over in the "Anne," and located at Tanjore.

12. Sir Robert Brownrigg, in acquainting the Madras Government with his reasons for deporting this latter family, writes as follows: ²

"Amongst the Malabar prisoners taken in the interior a small number were kept separate from the rest, being considered as relatives of Boodoosawmy, the ally of the British Government in the war of 1803. They consist of the mother-in-law and three widows of the last deceased king, with five male relations of those women. As the chiefs were understood to have been mere pensioners and dependents of the late Court, it was thought that some idea of friendly connection with the English might still remain on their part, which would make their continuance in the Island less a subject of alarm to Government than in the case of the other Naykers, whose sentiments could not be doubted to be in the highest degree hostile to the British cause.

"Under this impression they have hitherto remained here; and until lately were stationed at Negombo under no very close restraint. But the frequent recurrence of reports, that one of them was looked to by the chiefs as the eventual successor to the throne, and that secret communications were kept up with the family, convinced me of the necessity of their being placed in strict confinement in the Fort of Colombo, to which place they were accordingly removed some weeks ago.

"Ever since that time a new cause of alarm has arisen, and a circumstantiated design has been detailed in private information, having for its object to withdraw one of these chiefs into the interior and create him king. The existence of this plot is indeed, upon full inquiry, disbelieved; but it becomes obvious that the further residence of the persons alluded to, in this Island, would only give occasion to uneasiness, and furnish matter of probability and continuance to those rumours which (as naturally to be expected) are constantly arising, and serve, however unfounded, to keep alive the idea of further change, and to unsettle the minds of the inhabitants, and weaken their confidence in the present order of things.

"I am therefore induced to request that these few and only remaining members of the late Kandyan Court may, under favor of your Government, be received in the Hon'ble Company's settlement. I have sent them to Madras in preference to the southward, for the purpose of more effectually extinguishing every idea of their return.

"They embark this day on board the Brig 'Anne,' Mr. O. Edema, Master, under charge of an escort, commanded by Lieut. Greene of His Majesty's 1st Ceylon Regiment, who will be instructed to deliver the prisoners into such custody as may be appointed by your orders.

"Their place of residence, the nature and degree of supervision which it may be deemed advisable, at least for the present, to establish over the chiefs, and the allowance necessary for the maintenance of the whole, are points which I must beg leave to submit to the better judgment and superior means of information of the Hon'ble Company's Government."

13. As regards the manner in which the Kandyan exiles generally were to be treated,

2. Despatch of 20th July, 1816 to the Right Honorable Hugh Elliot.

much was throughout left to the discretion of the Madras Government. No information is however procurable about the exiles of 1806, except that Modoo Cunnumah died in 1846, when Rs. 1,000 were granted for the expenses of her funeral, and that large allowances are still paid to the descendants of Anglesamy and Mootoosamy, who emigrated with her.

14. In the case of Vickrema Rajah Sinha, the directions from the outset were, that he should be allowed every indulgence suited to his rank, but no state. He was allowed Rs. 200 a month pocket-money, but all the expenses of his food, household, &c., were defrayed from day to day by the Ceylon Government; and an application from him for a regular stipend in lieu of batta was refused, under the apprehension that too great a command of money would be secured to him.

15. Jewels and valuable clothes were given to his wives, but an application to have a quantity of gold that he had brought over from Colombo made in to a crown, was refused, though the Resident at Vellore recommended the application, on the ground that the whole of the king's valuables would be worked up into the crown, and would then no longer be available for political purposes in Ceylon.

16. The ex-king throughout, and at first the Kandyan chiefs with him, were State prisoners, but after a time all restriction was taken off the latter, who gradually dispersed to Trichinopoly, Madura, and other southern localities.

17. On the King's death, the system of rationing the ex-royal party was given up, and separate allowances were given to each of the queens; to Rajadi Simmalah, the son, who died in 1843, and to the other near relatives. Those more distantly related had from the outset been in receipt of monthly allowances, fixed after consultation with the Residents of the various Districts in which they were located.

18. Regarding the general mass of exiles, Sir R. Brownrigg forwarded five lists. No. 1 contained the king and his household; No. 2, the near relatives entitled to large allowances; No. 3, more distant relatives; No. 4, persons who were practically no relations at all; and in No. 5 were enumerated the names of a number of persons, relatives and others, who did not really belong to Ceylon, but had come over from India recently on speculation, hoping to get something out of Vickrema Sinha.

19. Request was made that inquiry should be instituted respecting the persons figuring in lists 4 and 5, as to whether they were possessed of property, or otherwise capable of earning a livelihood, in either of which cases an allowance for a very limited period only would be necessary; and it was intimated that in the case of both these lists the allowance should be considered as being only of a temporary nature.

20. The widows of Rajadhi Rajah Sinha, and the brothers of Mootoosamy, applied in October, 1816, for more liberal and honorable treatment than that vouchsafed to the "usurper," on the ground that whereas he had always been hostile, they had always been friendly to the English, who were indeed alleged to have owed their introduction to Ceylon to Rajadhi Sinha, and to Kandy, to Mootoosamy. The reply of the Ceylon Government was, however, to the effect, that it saw no reason for making any distinction between them and the other ex-royal family. They were not, however, prisoners in any sense.

21. A strong hope was expressed as early as 1818 by the Resident at Vellore, that the "Naickers," under which appellation all of the second category but the actual wives and children of the ex-king were included, would ere long amalgamate with the general population, and become useful subjects of the East India Company; and had judicious measures been adopted for advancing this desirable

object, there is little doubt that they would have been successful with the majority of the pensioners. Unfortunately, however, no definite system has been pursued in dealing with these pensions: in some cases, on the death of the original recipient, any renewal of them has been refused; in others they have been renewed at their full rates, though more generally on a scale of reduction; in some instances the pension of a parent has been continued to one son, or other representative, for the benefit of the family in general; while in others it has been split up between as many as twelve or fourteen different members, leaving to each a monthly pittance, sufficient to form an excuse for the recipient not taking to any ordinary branch of industry, on the ground (often a fictitious one) of his belonging to the "royal family," but not to preserve him

from want, resulting in a constant pestering of the Indian and Ceylon Governments for "an allowance suited to his rank."

22. This unsatisfactory position of affairs has more recently been to a certain extent remedied by the adoption of a rule that a pension shall no longer be split up, but shall devolve to one heir alone; and further, that on the death of the original recipient two-thirds only shall go to the next heir, while again, on his life falling through, one-half the last rate of allowance only will be granted to the third life, and then cease to be drawn. The questions depending on these rules, and the modifications which it is thought expedient to introduce into their operation, will be dealt with when proceeding with the other two heads of the subject.

II.—The Present Condition of the Pensioners.

23. In the first place, it should be mentioned that Regulation of Ceylon Government No. 6 of 1816 provides, that any Kandyan pensioner returning to Ceylon without a written permission under the hand and seal of some person duly authorised by the Governor to grant the same, shall be liable to imprisonment for twelve months. Now, the existence of such a regulation undoubtedly furnishes all those whom it affects with an indirect claim for support on the Government which has deported, and still excludes, them from its territory.

24. Undoubtedly, also, as between the Madras and Ceylon Governments, it is compulsory on the latter either to remove the disability, or to preserve its forced exiles from starvation. And from the conversations which I have held with the pensioners, I do not entertain any expectation that, if this disability were removed, one single pensioner would return to settle in Ceylon. In the first place, they have not the means; in the second, they now only speak Tamil; and lastly, they are

perfectly aware that the pretension which they so assiduously keep up in India of being "princes," "rajahs," or more ordinary members of a royal family, would soon fade away in Ceylon, where living is at least twice as expensive, and where the emoluments of the wealthiest of them would be far inferior to those enjoyed by the Interpreter to an ordinary District Court. They are also, as a rule, heavily in debt, and their creditors would stop their departure.

25. While therefore it would palpably be unjust to attempt any coercion in the removal of these pensioners to Ceylon (without which coercion not one of them would come), it would I think be expedient to abrogate the regulation by which that return is prohibited, both because it is useless, and because it is injurious, as helping to keep up a distinction between them and the people among whom they have settled.

26. The actual condition of the pensioners varies considerably, according to the locality in which they are at present located.

27. At Vellore and Tanjore their condition is truly pitiable. The State Prison in the Fort at the former spot was originally the place of detention of Vickrema Sīpha and his household. All restriction however as to place of abode (except that as to a return to Ceylon) was removed on the death of that prince ; and in 1863, the third and last surviving queen removed thence to Tanjore, as being a cheaper place to live in ; leaving, however, some of the pensioners still in occupation of the portion of the Mahul she had vacated.

28. Other portions of the Mahul are occupied by the families of the old Nawabs of the Carnatic ; and the temptation to keep up a connecting link with former royalty by living in a State Prison, and drawing a small pension from Government, has induced numbers of the pensioners to ask for and obtain permission to reside in the Mahul,—a residence there meaning of course idleness for old and young, coupled with a conviction that it is the duty of them and their descendants, however numerous, whether related to the ex-royal family or not, to be supported in perpetuity by the Ceylon Government, or starve. And it is to be noted, that here as elsewhere poverty and idleness do not appear to form any bar to early marriages and the rapid increase of families.

29. Of the twenty-one pensioners at Vellore, eight are practically not related to any of the ex-royal families ; five belong to the family of Rajadhi Rajah Singh ; and eight to that of Vickrema Rāja Sinha ; they are without education, and are bringing up their children to ignorance and idleness. A few live at Chittoor, some twelve miles off ; the rest are huddled into a set of miserable godowns, forming a sort of aristocratic poor-house, where no work is exigible, and of the overcrowding and insanitary state of which a Poor-Law Inspector would find much to say.

30. At Tanjore things are equally bad. The third queen, now past seventy, lives in a

hut much on a par with those noticeable in the Slave Island bazaar of Colombo. She is so heavily in debt that little of her pension comes to her ; and a crowd of idle relatives and dependents hang about her, who are the authors of the numerous petitions she presents for maintenance in perpetuity of Kandyan allowances ; for the recognition of Cunnamy (who is one of the moving spirits of "the Court") as a second instead of a third class pensioner, and other similar objects. Three boys, the adopted sons of the ex-queens, were, when I visited the queen, seated on a couch outside the door, wearing tinsel crowns on their heads ; a life-size portrait in a gilt frame of Vickrema Sīpha hung on the wall behind them ; and much pains were taken to explain to me that these boys were Maharājahs.

31. A few streets off lives Savetri devi Amah, the widow of Vickrema Sīpha's only son. She has quarrelled with the queen, and has a clique of her own who attempt a sort of fictitious court about her. Her house was cleaner, but not more extensive, than that of the queen.

32. A few only of the pensioners at Tanjore have or seek any employment, (at Vellore there was, as far as I could discover, only one who was employed in any way), and while some of them, both at Tanjore and Vellore, in their manners and demeanour, bear a striking resemblance to the older members of the Kandyan aristocracy still remaining in Ceylon, the contrast between them and other persons drawing perhaps larger monthly stipends, through the working of the want of system already alluded to, is very remarkable.

33. At Madura, with the exception of Dorasamy and Cothsamy Rājahs, sons of Anglesamy, who came over with Mootoosamy's widow, nearly all the pensioners are either very distantly or not in any way related to the ex-royal families. Dorasamy is possessed of property, and has married into the family of the Carnatic Princes ; the whole pension, Rs. 105,

was at first allotted to him for the subsistence of himself and his brother, but was afterwards sub-divided ; Rs. 35 being allotted to Cuthsamy, who is in debt and discontented, because he cannot live in the same style as his elder brother.

34. The majority of the pensioners live scattered in villages near Madura, or at Poodoo-cottah, and while they were all careful to aver that it was beneath their dignity to do any work, it was shewn that some sold arrack, two worked in a shop, while the greater number assist in the cultivation of the paddy fields of the villages where they reside. As a class, most of the Madura pensioners were little above the ordinary estate cooly of Ceylon.

35. At Negapatam a considerable contrast was remarkable. The pensioners at this port are of the family of Mootoosamy, and of the whole number, alone showed any real signs of education, and of endeavour to do something for themselves. They recognise as their head Vencatasámy Rájah, the grandson of the fifth brother of Mootoosamy, whose father was adopted by Mootoosamy's widow. He is a very intelligent, well educated, young man, has passed one of the test examinations for the Indian uncovenanted service, would be glad to obtain employment, and has applied to have

his pension commuted. There would be little difficulty in carrying out a fair system of commutation with the Negapatam pensioners, as they are all fairly educated, and ready to work for their livelihoods.

36. Taken as a whole, however, the present condition of the higher class of the Kandyan pensioners cannot fail to leave a very painful impression on the mind of any one who visits them, and enquires into their case. It cannot be considered creditable to this Government that a lady who for a time was queen of Kandy, should be living in debt and squalid misery, as is the case with Moodoo Cunnumah at Tanjore. And though undoubtedly it was a convenient and economical mode of getting rid of persons who might give trouble, to deport them from Ceylon, take possession of their properties, pension them indiscriminately and try to forget all about them,—putting aside all ideas of generosity as far as this Government is concerned,—it is not to be expected that the Government of Madras will acquiesce in the abandonment, in their territory, of a class of persons who are allied to some of their best families ; and whom the present practice is systematically confirming in idleness and pauperism.

(To be continued.)

THE CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

INDEX TO VOLUME V.

	PAGE		PAGE
A			
Abbott, Lieut	180 ff	Ceylon according to Du Jarric	49 ff, 152
Adam's Peak	6 ff, 205	Ceylon, Botanic Gardens in	119-124
"Adukku," Note on	95, 205	Ceylon, Early British Times in—see under "British"	
Agnew, Lt-Col	60 ff	Ceylon, in the 16th & 17th Centuries, Jesuits in	
Alfonsna, Didacus	198	see under "Jesuits"	
Alwin, Capt	100	Ceylon, Language of Rodiyas of	103-118
Ambagamuwa	22	Ceylon, Portraits & Coats-of-Arms of Governors of	1-5
Ancient Ceylon, Milk-drinking in	18	Ceylon, Portuguese in	31-41, 49-57, 81-87, 125-137
Anderson, Governor	161	Chalmers, Sir Robert	3
Anderson, G. W.	5	Christopher, Mr.	101
Andrews, Robert	47, 153-4	Cinnamon	120
Anglebeck, Joan Gerard Van	2, 121-2	Clement, Capt. C. T.	99
Anthonisz, R. G.	2, 3	Coats-of-Arms of Governors of Ceylon at Queen's	
Arumugam, Mr.	155	House	1-5
Asthana Deviyo	46	Cobras	89
Atkinson, Edward	153, 210	Codrington, H. W.	172, 174, 179
Azevedo	See De Azevedo	Coinage of the Kings of Jaffua, The forgotten	172-9
B		Cole, Major, J. A.	99
Bainbrigge, Lieut. E.	157	Collins, C. H.	103
Baker, Lieut. W.	100	Colombo in 1656, Siege of	132 ff
Balalu Veva	22	Colombo Races of 1854	96-101, 157-164
Ballads, Sinhalese	149 ff	Colombo, Topography of	119-124
Banks, Capt.	182, 185	Cooke, Thomas	91
Beaulieu, Capt.	183	Cookery, Dutch	93
Barnes, Lieut.-Genl. Sir Edward	2, 5, 42 ff	Coomaraswamy, S. W.	206
Batticaloa, Old Dutch Custom at	93	Coolies	66
Batuvantudave, C.	152	Cordiner	120 ff
Bell, H. C. P.	20, 29, 104, 173	Coster, William Jacobszoon	1
Bergoncius, Bartholomew.	135	Coutinho, see De Souza Coutinho	
Bews, Capt. H.	101	Critical Notes on the Epigraphia Zeylanica	20 ff
Bhuvauka Bahu VII., King.	148 ff	Cniffe, J.	99
Blake, Sir Henry	3, 5	Customs, Ceylon	14, 88-90, 93, 154-5
Blaze, L. E.	204	D	
Boissier, Capt. J. W.	158	D' Almeida, Jorge	4
Bonnevaux, Capt.	185	D' Amonville, M. de	183
Botanic Gardens in Ceylon, Early History of	119, 124	D' Angoult, Baron	183 ff
Boyd, Hugh	181 ff	D' Aurea, Diego Siqueiros	196
Boyd, Robert	167	D' Haan, Wilhelmina Gertrude	91
Boyd, William	193	Dagaba at Tissamahārāma	138-140
Braybrooke, C. H. S.	164	Daladā Māligāwa	42 ff
Braybrooke, Lieut.-Col. Samuel	164	Delgado, Fr. Antonio	82 ff
Braybrooke, Lieut. William	97	Davie, More about Major	165-171
British Governors of Ceylon, Portraits of	1-5	Davie, Charlotte	171
British Times in Ceylon, Early - 47, 48, 59, 69, 121 ff		Davie, Jemima	171
153-4, 165-171, 180-8, 189-195		De Albuquerque	4
Browurigg, Lt.-General Sir Robert	2, 5, 169	De Azevedo, Jerome	3, 4, 5
Browurigg, Sir Douglas	2	De Basto, Pedro	83 ff
Brunter, Lt.-Col. J. R.	163	De Braganza, Constantino	175
Buddha, The Barnes	42 ff	De Carvalho, Joannes	135
C		De Costa, Fr. Balthasar	86
Caffres	63 ff	De Figureido, Father Simao	84-198
Caldeiro, Fr. J.	86	De Fontes, Antonio	135
Campbell, Sir Colin	5	De Glanville, B. G.	93
Caron, Francois	141 ff	De Heer, Gerrit	3
Carreirus, Laurentius	135	De La Haye, Admiral	142 ff
Casie Chitty	104 ff	De La Mancelliere, M. Dupas	183
Catholicism in Ceylon, Roman	31-41, 49-57, 81-87, 196, 201	De Mascarenhas, Felipe	3
		De Mello, Diogo	4
		De Meuron, Brig.-Gen. P. F.	59 ff
		De Mello de Castro	3, 4, 126 ff
		De Menezes, F.	4

	PAGE
De Queyroz, Fernao	81-87
De Rivet, Chevalier	183
De Souza de Continho, A.	3, 4, 5,
De Souza, Pedro Lopes	4
De Soysa, Valentine	106
De Vos, Rev. Mr.	193
De Zilva Wickremasinghe, Professor Don M.	20 ff
Denegomuwa Disava	169
Denham, E. B.	104
Der Helst, Bartholomens Van	2
Der Kinderen, Professor	1
Der Werff, Mr. Van	2
Dimbnlágala	22
Diyawadana Nilame	47
Douglas, Hon. John	211
Dowdall, Capt. George James	97
Dn Jarric, Ceylon according to	49 ff 132
Du Pre Alexander, James	153
Dutch Cookery	93
Dutch Cnston at Batticaloa	93
Dntch Governors of Ceylon, Portraits of	1-5
Dntch in Ceylon - 81 ff, 93, 119 ff, 128 ff, 141 ff, 155, 180 ff, 189 ff, 196 ff	
Dutch Tobacco Boxes	155

E

Early British Times in Ceylon	47, 48, 59-69, 121 ff
Edwards, Capt. Clement	153-4, 165-171, 180-8, 189-195
Epigraphia Zeylanica, Critical Notes on the	166, 166
Erhardt, Mr.	20 ff
Evnnugalla	193
Expeditions against Trincomalie, French	22
	141-147, 180-8

F

Falck, Iman Willem	2, 120 ff
Famine in Ceylon	37 ff
Fanna, Ceylon	70, 71
Ferguson, Donald	78-80, 106
Figureido, see De Figureido	
Flora, Ceylon	14, 70, 71, 119-124
Folklore, Sinhalese	88-90, 154-5
Fontaine, M.	183
Forts	66 ff, 78-80
Fraser, Hon. Mr. J. G.	104
Fraser, J.	98, 99, 160
French Expeditions against Trincomalie	141-147, 180-8
Fullarton, Lieut.-Col.	185
Furnitnre, Portngnese	13
Furtado, Francis Mendosa	82 ff

G

Gaja Bahn II.	25
Galle	31 ff, 81 ff
Galpota Slab Inscription	21 ff
Gaspard, Rev. E.	49, 152
Geiger, Wilhelm	103
Gell, Capt. John	181 ff
Glanville, see De Glanville	
Gnana Prakasar, Rev. S.	70, 95, 172, 205
Gopinatha Rao, Mr. T. A.	28
Gordon, The Hon. Sir Arthur	3, 5
Governors of Ceylon at Queen's House, Portraits and Coats-of-Arms of	1-5
Grandpass	208
Gregory, Rt. Hon. Sir William	3, 5

	PAGE
Gubbins, Ensign G. S.	158
Guides, Department of	66
Gunasekara, Mudlr. A. Mendis	104, 106

H

Handyside, Mary	171
Handyside, W.	171
Hapngaha Kadavata	46
Hardy, Mr. Dorofield	2
Harrison, Capt.	158
Haughton, Samuel	44, 202
Havelock, Sir Arthur	3, 5
Heale, A. W.	99
Hertenberg, Johannes	3
Hettiaratchi, D. P. E.	42
Heywood, Rev. William Hamlyn	192
Hindu Temples in Jaffna	12
History of Ceylon Botanic Gardens, Early	119-124
History, Tamil	172-9
Homem, Mannel Mascarenhas	3, 4
Homood, Van Albert	181
Hughes, Sir Edward	180 ff.
Hulugalle, S. N. W.	104
Hustaart, Jacob	3

I

Imhoff, G. W. Barou Von	2
Infantry, eylon Native	63 ff.
Inscriptions,	20 ff, 138, 174

J

Jaffna, Coinage of the Kings of	173-9
Jaffna, Relics of Portuguese Rule in	12 ff, 78-80
Jayavira Bandára	148 ff.
Jayawickreme, Mudlr. C. F. S.	139
Jervis, John	47
Jesuits in Ceylon in the 16th and 17th centuries	31 ff, 49-57, 81-87, 125-137, 196-201
Jewellery, Portuguese influence on	13
Jonville, Joseph	119 ff.

K

Kandyan Pensioners, The	211-217
Kavantissa, King	138 ff.
Kehelpannala, T. B. P.	94, 205-6
Kelly, Major Richard	168
Kilner, T.	171
Kinderen, Professor Der	1
King of Ceylon Scene of Capture of last	202
Kings of Jaffna, Coinage of the	172-9
Knox, Robert,	105, 125, 135, 136
Kollupitiya Race Course in 1854	97
Kotagama Inscription	174
Krishnanian	169, 170

L

Language, Pilgrim	89, 90
Language, Portuguese	13 ff, 70-77
Language of the Rodiyas	103-118
Lankapura, General	173
Lascars	66
Lennox, Crawford	182 ff.
Leslie, Hon. George Melville	193
Lewis, J. P.	3, 12, 15, 44, 45, 78, 91, 93, 96, 104, 148, 153, 154, 155, 157, 166, 168, 202
Loft, Mrs.	169

	PAGE		PAGE
Longden, Sir James	5	Pensioners, The Kandyan	211-217
Lopez, Father Andrew	85, 200	Pereira, Nuno Alvares	4
Loten, Joan Gideon	3	Pereira, R. J.	46
Lushington, Lt.-Col. F.	162	Perera, Rev. S. G.	6, 31, 81, 125, 141, 180
		Petch, T.	119, 208
M		Pieris, Dr. Paul	3
Maatzuyker, Joau	1	Pilgrim Language	89, 90
MacCarthy, Sir Charles	3, 5	Pilma Talawwe	46
Macartney, Lord	180 ff.	Pinto, Father Louis	82 ff
Macdowall, Major Gen. Hay	59 ff, 121, 122, 182 ff.	Poionnaruva Inscriptions	20 ff
McCallum, Governor Sir Henry	1, 3	Portuguese Governors of Ceylon, Portraits of	1-5
Macglashan, Capt.	169	Portuguese in Ceylon	31-41, 49-57, 81-87, 125-137, 196-201
Mackay, Major Donald	168-9	Portuguese in Tamil	70-77
Mackenzie, Governor	5	Portuguese Rule in Jaffna, Relics of	12 ff, 70-77, 78-80
Maitland, Lt.-Gen. the Rt. Hon. Sir Thos.	2, 5, 50 ff, 166 ff.	Prognostications, Omens and	88-90
Malay Regiment	60 ff, 168, 183 ff.	Pumsavana Ceremony	91-92
Mannar,	31 ff, 81 ff.		
Manar, San Pedro Round Tower in	44, 45	Q	
Marambe, A. J. W.	205	Queen's House, Portraits and Coats-of-Arms of	
Maritime Provinces of Ceylon (1798-1805),		Governors of Ceylon at	1-5
Military and Religious Establishments		Quelso, Capt	180
in the	59-69, 189-195		
Martin, John Davie	171	R	
Martin, Peter	171	Races of 1854, Colombo	96-101, 157-164
Martin, W. A.	171	Raja Sinha II, King	125 ff
Mascarenhas, see also de Mascarenhas		Raja Sinha, Scene of Capture of Sri Vikrama	202 ff
Mascarenhas, Antonio	4	Raja Sinha of Sitawaka, King	148 ff
Mascarenhas, Felipe	4, 84	Rasanayagam, Mudlr. C.	172
Mayadunne, King	148 ff.	Ratnatunga, P. D.	138
Meneses, Amaral, E.	4	Rajadhi Raja Sinha, King	46
Methley, T.	171	Rayigam Bandara	148 ff
Methley, Violet M.	165, 168-9	Regiment, Ceylon Native	63 ff
Migastenne Disava	169	.. Eightieth	61 ff
Milk drinking among Sinhalese	16 ff, 152-3	.. Fifty-First	61 ff
Milman, Colonel	99	.. Malay	60 ff
Montague, Capt.	181	.. Nineteenth	60 ff
Morowa Korale	45	.. Sixty-fifth	61 ff
Morries, John	171	Reid, Mr.	193
Mulleriyave-veva	148-151, 209	Relics of Portuguese Rule in Jaffna	12 ff
Muller, Dr. Hendricks	1, 2	Religious Establishments in the Maritime Provinces	
Munro, Sir Hector	180 ff.	of Ceylon, 1798-1805	189-195
Muttal Sami	169, 170-1	Riots of 1800, Joy-tax	60
		Robinson, Sir Hercules	3, 5
N		Rodiyas, Language of the	103-118
Nakolagane Vihare	22	Romer, Capt. W.	99, 162
Naran Appu	170	Ruins at Ussaippukallu	93
Nevill, Hugh	104		
Nicol, Miss Marian	169	S	
Nineteenth Regiment	60 ff.	Sabaratna, Mudaliyar S.	12
Nissanka Malla, King	23 ff.	Sampeturu Round Tower	202
North, Hon. Federick (Lord)	2, 5, 59 ff, 119 ff, 189 ff.	San Pedro Round Tower in Manar	44, 45
Numismatics (Jaffna)	172-9	Saxon, Capt. Lt	185
		Senarat, King	125 ff
O		Senaveratne, John M.	16, 21, 22, 91, 155, 209
Officers in Ceylon, British Military	59 ff.	Sepoys & Caffres	63 ff
Offspring, Sex in	91-92	Setu Coins of Jaffna	172-9
Omens and Prognostications	88-90	Swell, Capt. A. R.	100
Orr, Lt.-Samuel	181	Sex in offspring	91-92
		Scott, John	202
P		Silva, Hippolyte	91
Pedrosa, Father	82 ff, 125 ff.	Simms, W. H.	97
Paget, Lt.-Genl. the Hon. Sir Edward	2, 5	Simonsz, Cornelis	3
Parakrama Bahu I, King	25	Sinhalese Ballads	149 ff
Paravars, The	33 ff.	Sinhalese Customs & Folklore	88-90, 154-5
Payaart, Jan Thysz	3	Sinhalese Milk Drinking among	16 ff, 152-3
Pearl Fishery	35 ff.	Sinhalese superstitions	155, 156
		Skeen, William	163
		Snakes	89

	PAGE		PAGE
Soeiro, Father	127 ff	Vaharakgoda	22
Sri Pada, Old Route to	205	Valagam Bahu, King	177
St. Thomas	6 ff	Van der Helst, Bartholomeus	2
Stewart, Hew	158	Van Domburg, Diderik	3
Stuart, General James	48	VanDort, J. L. K.	91, 96, 101, 157
Stuart, Mary	171	Vane, George	99
Stubbs, Mr. (Sir) R. E.	2, 3	Van Goens, Rijklof	1
Suffrein, Admiral	180 ff	Varma, Ravi Varma & C Raja Raja	3
Superstitions, Some Sinhalese	155-6	Veddass	105
Sylveiro, Father Manoel	84, 197	Veloso, Pero	81
		Verbrugge, J. J.	3
T		Versluijs, Jonkheer. A. Van Reygersburg	2
Tamil History	172-9	Versluijs, Stephanus	2
Tamil, Portuguese in	70-77	Vieyra, Damien	132 ff
Temples in Jaffna, Hindu	12	Vijaya Bahu II, King	24
Thomas, E. S.	154	Vijaya Râja, King	178
Thomas, St.	6 ff	Vilant, Capt. Alexander. B.	167
Thunberg the botanist	120	Vogel, J. C.	2
Tissamaharâma, Largest Dagaba at	138-140	Von Imhoff, G. W. Baron	2
Tobacco Boxes, Dutch	155		
Topasses	204	W	
Topography of Colombo	119-124	Walmsley, Lieut. J.	158
Torrington, Viscount	2, 5	Ward, Sir. Henry.	2, 5
Town Guard, The First Colombo	65 ff	Watson, Robert	182 ff
Tracy, Rev. J. E.	173-4	Weerakon, Mudlr. G. E.	148
Trefusis, Hon. Robert	1	Wemyss, Maj-Gen. David Douglas	59 ff
Trincomalie, French Expeditions against	141-147-180-8	White, A. C.	100
Tufnell, Capt.	173	White, Herbert	16
Turner, L. J. B.	59, 123, 189, 208, 210	Wijetunga, Wilmot. P.	88
Turnour, Mr. George	42 ff	Williams, Capt.	101
Tntein-Nolthenius, A. C.	93	Winkelmann, Capt.	123
Tyrrell, Lieut. General, F. H.	152	Wood, Alexander	167
U		X	
Ussaippukalln, Ruins at	93	Xavier, St Francis	31 ff
		Y	
		Yâlpâdi, Story of	177



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28

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